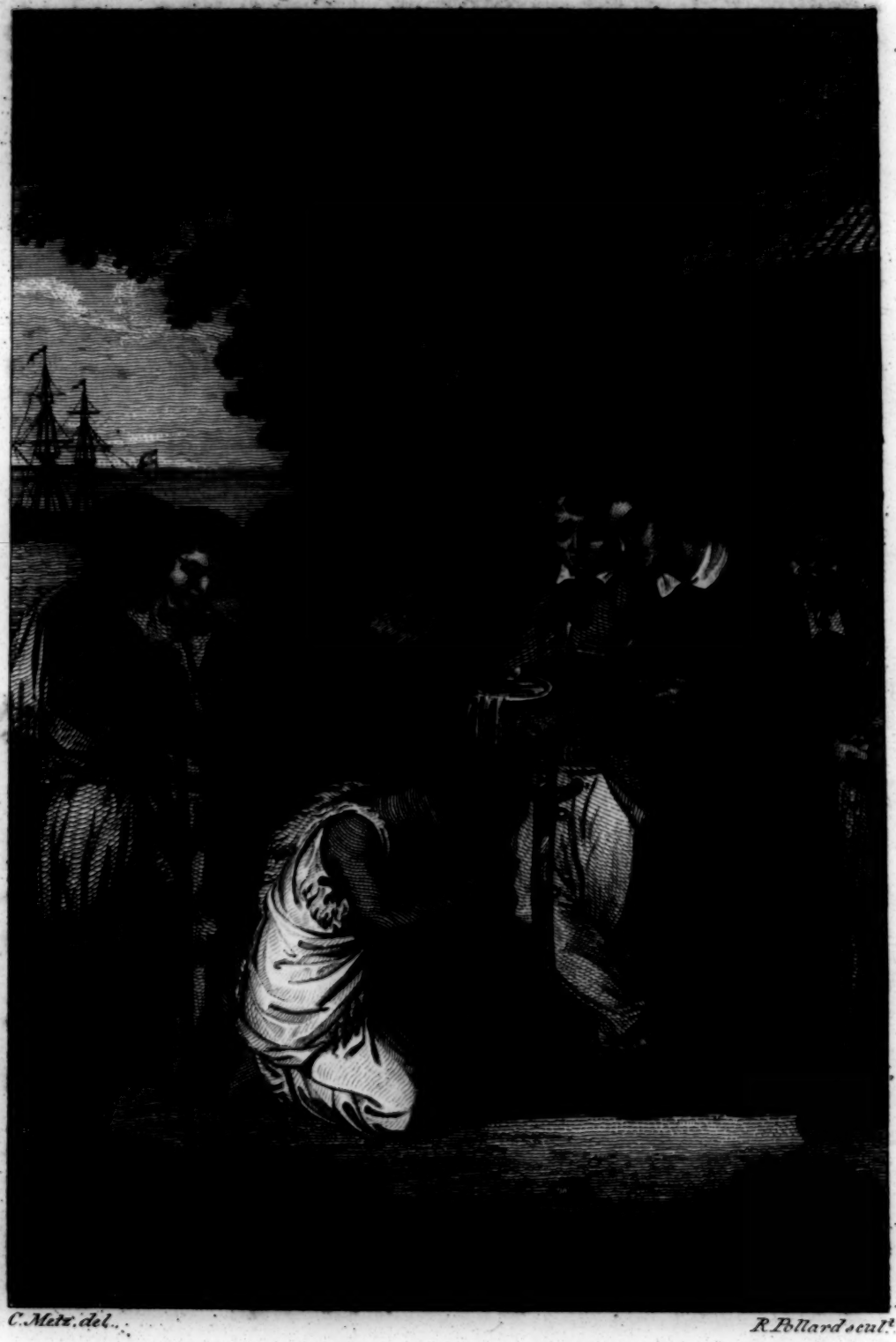


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THE

LIFE AND ADVENTURES

OF

ROBINSON CRUSOE,

OF YORK, MARINER:

WHO LIVED EIGHT AND TWENTY YEARS ALL ALONE IN AN UNINHABITED ISLAND, ON THE COAST OF AMERICA, NEAR THE MOUTH OF THE GREAT RIVER OROONOQUE.

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS TRAVELS

ROUND THREE PARTS OF THE GLOBE.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

VOL. II.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

THE LIFE

AND

SURPRISING ADVENTURES

OF

ROBINSON CRUSOE.

THAT homely proverb uſed on ſo many occaſions in England, viz. "That what is bred in the bone, will not go out of the fleſh," was never more verified, than in the ſtory of my life. Any one would think, that after thirty-five years affliction, and a variety of unhappy circumſtances, which few men, if any, ever went through before, and after near ſeven years of peace and enjoyment in the fulneſs of all things, grown old, and when, if ever, it might be allowed me to have had experience of every ſtate of middle life, and to know which was moſt adapted to make a man completely happy; I ſay, after all this, any one would have thought that the native propenſity to rambling, which I gave an account of in my firſt ſetting out in the world, to have been ſo predominate in my thoughts, ſhould be worn out, the volatile part be fully evacuated, or at leaſt condenſed; and I might, at ſixty-one years of age, have been a little inclined to ſtay at home, and have done venturing life and fortune any more.

Nay farther, the common motive of foreign adventures was taken away in me, for I had no fortune to make; I had nothing to ſeek: if I had gained ten thouſand pounds, I had been no richer; for I had already ſufficient for me, and for thoſe I had to leave it to; and that I had was viſibly increaſing; for having no great family, I could not ſpend the income of what I had, unleſs I would ſet up for an expenſive way of living, ſuch as a great family, ſervants, equipage, gaiety, and the like, which were things I had no notion of, or inclination to; ſo that I had nothing indeed to do, but to ſit ſtill, and fully enjoy what I had got, and ſee it encreaſe daily upon my hands. Yet all theſe things had no effect upon me, or at leaſt, not enough to reſiſt the ſtrong inclination I had to go abroad again, which hung about me like a chronical diſtemper; particularly the deſire of ſeeing my new plantation in the iſland, and the colony I left there, run in my head continually. I dreamed of it all night, and my imagination run upon it all day; it was uppermoſt in all my thoughts, and my fancy worked ſo ſteadily and ſtrongly upon it, that I talked of it in my ſleep; in ſhort, nothing could remove it out of my mind: it even broke ſo violently into all my diſcourſes, that it made my converſation tireſome; for I could talk of nothing elſe; all my diſcourſe run into it, even to impertinence, and I ſaw it in myſelf.

I have often heard perſons of good judgment ſay, that all the ſtir people make in the world about ghoſts and apparitions, is owing to the ſtrength of imagination, and the powerful operation of fancy in their minds; that there is no ſuch thing as a ſpirit appearing, or a ghoſt walking, and the like: that people's poring affectionately

fectionately upon the paſt converſation of their deceaſed friends, ſo realizes it to them, that they are capable of fancying, upon ſome extraordinary circumſtances, that they ſee them, talk to them, and are anſwered by them, when, in truth, there is nothing but ſhadow and vapour in the thing; and they really know nothing of the matter.

For my part, I know not to this hour, whether there are any ſuch things as real apparitions, ſpectres, or walking of people after they are dead, or whether there is any thing in the ſtories they tell us of that kind, more than the product of vapours, ſick minds, and wandering fancies; but this I know, that my imagination worked up to ſuch a height, and brought me into ſuch exceſs of vapours, or what elſe I may call it, that I actually ſuppoſed myſelf often upon the ſpot, at my old caſtle, behind the trees; ſaw my old Spaniard, Friday's father, and the reprobate ſailors I left upon the iſland; nay, I fancied I talked with them, and looked at them ſo ſteadily, though I was broad awake, as at perſons juſt before me; and this I did till I often frightened myſelf with the images my fancy repreſented to me. One time, in my ſleep, I had the villainy of the three pirate ſailors ſo livelily related to me by the firſt Spaniard, and Friday's father, that it was ſurprizing; they told me how they barbarouſly attempted to murder all the Spaniards, and that they ſet fire to the proviſions they had laid up, on purpoſe to diſtreſs and ſtarve them; things that I had never heard of, and that indeed were never all of them true, in fact: but it was ſo warm in my imagination, and ſo realized to me, that, to the hour I ſaw them, I could not be perſuaded but that it was, or would be true; alſo how I reſented it, when the Spaniard complained to me, and how I brought them to

juſtice, tried them before me, and ordered them all three to be hanged. What there was really in this, ſhall be ſeen in its place: for however I came to form ſuch things in my dream, and what ſecret converſe of ſpirits injected it, yet there was, I ſay, much of it true. I own, that this dream had nothing in it literally and ſpecifically true; but the general part was ſo true, the baſe, villainous behaviour of theſe three hardened rogues was ſuch, and had been ſo much worſe than all I can deſcribe, that the dream had too much ſimilitude of the fact; and as I would afterwards have puniſhed them ſeverely, ſo, if I had hanged them all, I had been much in the right, and even ſhould have been juſtified both by the laws of God and man. But, to return to my ſtory: in this kind of temper I lived ſome years; I had no enjoyment of my life, no pleaſant hours, no agreeable diverſion, but what had ſomething or other of this in it; ſo that my wife, who ſaw my mind wholly bent upon it, told me very ſeriouſly one night, that ſhe believed there was ſome ſecret, powerful impulſe of Providence upon me, which had determined me to go thither again; and that ſhe found nothing hindered my going, but my being engaged to a wife and children. She told me, that it was true ſhe could not think of parting with me; but as ſhe was aſſured, that if ſhe was dead, it would be the firſt thing I would do; ſo, as it ſeemed to her, that the thing was determined above, ſhe would not be the only obſtruction; for, if I thought fit, and reſolved to go——here ſhe found me very intent upon her words, and that I looked very earneſtly at her, ſo that it a little diſordered her, and ſhe ſtopped. I aſked her why ſhe did not go on, and ſay out what ſhe was going to ſay? But I perceived that her heart was too full,

full, and ſome tears ſtood in her eyes: Speak out, my dear, ſaid I; are you willing I ſhould go? No, ſays ſhe, very affectionately, I am far from willing: but if you are reſolved to go, ſays ſhe, and rather than I would be the only hindrance, I will go with you; for though I think it a moſt prepoſterous thing for one of your years, and in your condition, yet, if it muſt be, ſaid ſhe, again weeping, I won't leave you; for if it be of Heaven, you muſt do it; there is no reſiſting it: and if Heaven make it your duty to go, he will alſo make it mine to go with you, or otherwiſe diſpoſe of me, that I may not obſtruct it?

This affectionate behaviour of my wife's, brought me a little out of the vapours, and I began to conſider what I was doing; I corrected my wandering fancy, and began to argue with myſelf ſedately, what buſineſs I had, after threeſcore years, and after ſuch a life of tedious ſufferings and diſaſters, and cloſed in ſo happy and eaſy a manner; I ſay, what buſineſs had I to ruſh into new hazards, and put myſelf upon adventures, fit only for youth and poverty to run into?

With thoſe thoughts, I conſidered my new engagement; that I had a wife, one child born, and my wife then great with child of another; that I had all the world could give me, and had no need to ſeek hazards for gain; that I was declining in years, and ought to think rather of leaving what I had gained, than of ſeeking to encreaſe it; that as to what my wife had ſaid, of its being an impulſe from Heaven, and that it ſhould be my duty to go, I had no notion of that: ſo, after many of theſe cogitations, I ſtruggled with the power of my imagination, reaſoned myſelf out of it, as I believe people may always do, in like caſes, if they

will: and, in a word, I conquered it; compoſed myſelf with ſuch arguments as occurred to my thoughts, and which my preſent condition furniſhed me plentifully with; and particularly, as the moſt effectual method, I reſolved to divert myſelf with other things, and to engage in ſome buſineſs that might effectually tie me up from any more excurſions of this kind; for I found that thing return upon me chiefly when I was idle, and had nothing to do, nor any thing of moment immediately before me. To this purpoſe, I bought a little farm in the county of Bedford, and reſolved to remove myſelf thither. I had a little, convenient houſe upon it, and the land about it, I found, was capable of great improvement, and that it was many ways ſuited to my inclination, which delighted in cultivating, managing, planting, and improving of land; and particularly, being an inland country, I was removed from converſing among ſailors, and things relating to the remote parts of the world.

In a word, I went down to my farm, ſettled my family, bought me ploughs, harrows, a cart, waggon, horſes, cows, and ſheep, and ſetting ſeriouſly to work, became in one half year, a mere country gentleman; my thoughts were entirely taken up in managing my ſervants, cultivating the ground, encloſing, planting, &c. and I lived, as I thought, the moſt agreeable life that nature was capable of directing, or that a man always bred to misfortunes, was capable of retreating to.

I farmed upon my own land, I had no rent to pay, was limited by no articles; I could pull up or cut down as I pleaſed: what I planted, was for myſelf; and what I improved, was for my family; and having thus left off the thoughts of wandering, I had not the leaſt diſ-

comfort

comfort in any part of life, as to this world. Now I thought indeed, that I enjoyed the middle ſtate of life which my father ſo earneſtly recommended to me, and lived a kind of heavenly life, ſomething like what is deſcribed by the Poet, upon the ſubject of a country life.

" —— Free from vices, free from care,
" Age has no pain, and youth no ſnare."

But in the middle of all this felicity, one blow from unſeen Providence unhinged me at once; and not only made a breach upon me inevitable and incurable, but drove me, by its conſequences, into a deep relapſe of the wandering diſpoſition, which, as I may ſay, being born in my very blood, ſoon recovered its hold of me, and like the returns of a violent diſtemper, came on with an irreſiſtible force upon me, ſo that nothing could make any more impreſſion upon me. This blow was the loſs of my wife. It is not my buſineſs here to write an elegy upon my wife, give a character of her particular virtues, and make my court to the ſex by the flattery of a funeral ſermon. She was, in a few words, the ſtay of all my affairs, the center of all my enterprizes, the engine, that by her prudence, reduced me to that happy compaſs I was in, from the moſt extravagant and ruinous project that fluttered in my head, as above, and did more to guide my rambling genius than a mother's tears, a father's inſtructions, a friend's counſel, or all my own reaſoning powers could do; I was happy in liſtening to her tears, and in being moved by her intreaties, and to the laſt degree deſolate and diſlocated in the world by the loſs of her.

When ſhe was gone, the world looked aukwardly round me; I was as much a ſtranger in it, in my

thoughts, as I was in the Braſils, when I firſt went on ſhore there; and as much alone, except as to the aſſiſtance of ſervants, as I was in my iſland; I knew neither what to think, nor what to do. I ſaw the world buſy round me, one part labouring for bread, another part ſquandering in vile exceſſes or empty pleaſures, equally miſerable, becauſe the end they propoſed ſtill fled from them; for the men of pleaſure every day ſurfeited of their vice, and heaped up work for ſorrow and repentance; and the men of labour ſpent their ſtrength in daily ſtrugglings for bread to maintain the vital ſtrength they laboured with; ſo living in a daily circulation of ſorrow, living but to work, and working but to live, as if daily bread were the only end of weariſome life, and a weariſome life the only occaſion of daily bread.

This put me in mind of the life I lived in my kingdom, the iſland, where I ſuffered no more corn to grow, becauſe I did not want it; and bred no more goats, becauſe I had no more uſe for them: where the money lay in the drawer till it grew mouldy, and had ſcarce the favour to be looked upon in twenty years.

All theſe things, had I improved them as I ought to have done, and as reaſon and religion had dictated to me, would have taught me to ſearch farther than human enjoyments for a full felicity, and that there was ſomething which certainly was the reaſon and end of life, ſuperior to all theſe things, and which was either to be poſſeſſed, or at leaſt hoped for, on this ſide the grave.

But my ſage counſellor was gone; I was like a ſhip without a pilot, that could only run afore the wind: my thoughts run all away again into the old affair; my head was quite turned with the whimſies of foreign adventures; and all the pleaſant, innocent amuſements of my farm, my garden, my cattle, and my family, which

which before entirely poſſeſſed me, were nothing to me, had no reliſh, and were like muſick to one that has no ear, or food to one that has no taſte; in a word, I reſolved to leave off houſe-keeping, let my farm, and return to London; and in a few months after, I did ſo.

When I came to London, I was ſtill as uneaſy as I was before; I had no reliſh to the place, no employment in it, nothing to do but to ſaunter about like an idle perſon, of whom it may be ſaid, he is perfectly uſeleſs in God's creation, and it is not one farthing matter to the reſt of his kind, whether he be dead or alive. This alſo was the thing, which of all circumſtances of life was the moſt my averſion, who had been all my days uſed to an active life; and I would often ſay to myſelf, "a ſtate of idleneſs is the very dregs of life: and indeed I thought I was much more ſuitably employed, when I was twenty-ſix days a making me a deal board.

It was now the beginning of the year 1693, when my nephew, who, as I have obſerved before, I had brought up to the ſea, and had made him commander of a ſhip, was come home from a ſhort voyage to Bilboa, being the firſt he had made; he came to me, and told me, that ſome merchants of his acquaintance had been propoſing to him to go a voyage for them to the Eaſt Indies and to China, as private traders:— "And now uncle," ſays he, "if you will go to ſea with "me, I will engage to land you upon your old habita-"tion in the iſland; for we are to touch at the Braſils."

Nothing can be a greater demonſtration of a future ſtate, and of the exiſtence of an inviſible world, than the concurrence of ſecond cauſes, with the ideas of things which we form in our minds, perfectly reſerved, and not communicated to any in the world.

My

My nephew knew nothing how far my diſtemper of wandering was returned upon me, and I knew nothing of what he had in his thought to ſay, when that very morning, before he came to me, I had, in a great deal of confuſion of thought, and revolving every part of my circumſtances in my mind, come to this reſolution, viz. That I would go to Liſbon, and conſult with my old ſea-captain; and ſo, if it was rational and practicable, I would go and ſee the iſland again, and ſee what was become of my people there. I had pleaſed myſelf with the thoughts of peopling the place, and carrying inhabitants from hence, getting a patent for the poſſeſſion, and I knew not what; when, in the middle of all this, in comes my nephew, as I have ſaid, with his project of carrying me thither, in his way to the Eaſt-Indies.

I pauſed a while at his words; and looking ſteadily at him, "what devil," ſaid I, "ſent you on this unlucky errand?" My nephew ſtared, as if he had been frightened at firſt; but perceiving that I was not much diſpleaſed with the propoſal, he recovered himſelf: "I hope it "may not be an unlucky propoſal, Sir," ſays he; "I "dare ſay you would be pleaſed to ſee your new colony "there, where you once reigned with more felicity "than moſt of your brother monarchs in the world."

In a word, the ſcheme hit ſo exactly with my temper, that is to ſay, the prepoſſeſſion I was under, and of which I have ſaid ſo much, that I told him, in few words, if he agreed with the merchants, I would go with him; but I told him, I would not promiſe to go any farther than my own iſland. "Why, Sir," ſays he, "you "don't want to be left there again, I hope?" "Why," ſaid I, "can you not take me up again in your return?" He told me, it could not be poſſible to do ſo; that the merchants would never allow him to come that way

way with a loaden ſhip of ſuch value, it being a month's ſail out of his way, and might be three or four: "Be- "ſides, Sir, if I ſhould miſcarry," ſaid he, "and not "return at all, then you would be juſt reduced to the "condition you were in before."

This was very rational; but we both found out a remedy for it; which was to carry a framed ſloop on board the ſhip, which being taken in pieces, and ſhipped on board the ſhip, might, by the help of ſome carpenters, whom we agreed to carry with us, be ſet up again in the iſland, and finiſhed, fit to go to ſea, in a few days,

I was not long reſolving; for indeed the importunities of my nephew joined in ſo effectually with my inclination, that nothing could oppoſe me: on the other hand, my wife being dead, I had no body concerned themſelves ſo much for me, as to perſuade me to one way or the other, except my ancient, good friend, the widow, who earneſtly ſtruggled with me to conſider my years, my eaſy circumſtances, and the needleſs hazards of a long voyage; and, above all, my young children: but it was all to no purpoſe;—I had an irreſiſtible deſire to the voyage; and I told her, I thought there was ſomething ſo uncommon in the impreſſions I had upon my mind for the voyage, that it would be a kind of reſiſting Providence, if I ſhould attempt to ſtay at home: after which, ſhe ceaſed her expoſtulations, and joined with me, not only in making proviſion for my voyage, but alſo in ſettling my family affairs for my abſence, and providing for the education of my children.

In order to this, I made my will, and ſettled the eſtate I had in ſuch a manner for my children, and placed in ſuch hands, that I was perfectly eaſy and ſatisfied

tisfied they would have juſtice done them, whatever might befall me; and for their education, I left it wholly to my widow, with a ſufficient maintenance to herſelf for her care: all which ſhe richly deſerved; for no mother could have taken more care in their education, or underſtood it better; and as ſhe lived till I came home, I alſo lived to thank her for it.

My nephew was ready to ſail about the beginning of January 1694-5; and I, with my man Friday, went on board in the Downs the 8th; having, beſides that ſloop which I mentioned above, a very conſiderable cargo of all kinds of neceſſary things for my colony; which, if I did not find in good condition, I reſolved to leave ſo.

Firſt, I carried with me ſome ſervants, whom I purpoſed to place there, as inhabitants, or at leaſt to ſet on work there upon my account, while I ſtayed, and either to leave them there, or carry them forward, as they would appear willing; particularly I carried two carpenters, a ſmith, and a very handy, ingenious fellow, who was a cooper by trade, and was alſo a general mechanic; for he was dextrous at making wheels, and hand-mills to grind corn, was a good turner, and a good pot-maker; he alſo made any thing that was proper to make of earth, or of wood; in a word, we called him our Jack of all trades. With theſe I carried a taylor, who had offered himſelf to go a paſſenger to the Eaſt Indies with my nephew, but afterwards conſented to ſtay on our new plantation, and proved a moſt neceſſary, handy fellow, as could be deſired, in many other buſineſſes beſides that of his trade; for, as I obſerved formerly, "Neceſſity arms us for all employments."

My cargo, as near as I can recollect, for I have not kept account of the particulars, conſiſted of a ſufficient quantity

quantity of linen, and ſome Engliſh thin ſtuffs, for cloathing the Spaniards that I expected to find there, and enough of them, as, by my calculation, might comfortably ſupply them for ſeven years: if I remember right, the materials I carried for cloathing them, with gloves, hats, ſhoes, ſtockings, and all ſuch things as they could want for wearing, amounted to above two hundred pounds, including ſome beds, bedding, and houſhold ſtuff, particularly kitchen-utenſils, with pots, kettles, pewter, braſs, &c. and near a hundred pounds more in iron-work, nails, tools of every kind, ſtaples, hooks, hinges, and every neceſſary thing I could think of.

I carried alſo an hundred ſpare-arms, muſkets, and fuſees; beſides ſome piſtols, a conſiderable quantity of ſhot of all ſizes, three or four tons of lead, and two pieces of braſs cannon; and becauſe I knew not what time and what extremities I was providing for, I carried an hundred barrels of powder, beſides ſwords, cutlaſſes, and the iron part of ſome pikes and halberts; ſo that, in ſhort, we had a large magazine of all ſorts of ſtores; and I made my nephew carry two ſmall quarter-deck guns more than he wanted for his ſhip, to leave behind, if there was occaſion; that when we came there, we might build a fort, and man it againſt all ſorts of enemies: and indeed, I at firſt thought there would be need enough for all, and much more, if we hoped to maintain our poſſeſſion of the iſland; as ſhall be ſeen in the courſe of that ſtory.

I had not ſuch bad luck in this voyage as I had been uſed to meet with; and therefore ſhall have the leſs occaſion to interrupt the reader, who perhaps may be impatient to hear how matters went with my colony; yet ſome odd accidents, croſs winds, and bad weather

happened, on this firſt ſetting out, which made the voyage longer than I expected it, at firſt; and I, who had never made but one voyage, viz. my firſt voyage to Guinea, in which I might be ſaid to come back again, as the voyage was at firſt deſigned, began to think the ſame ill fate attended me; and that I was born to be never contented with being on ſhore, and yet to be always unfortunate at ſea.

Contrary winds firſt put us to the northward, and we were obliged to put in at Galway in Ireland, where we lay wind-bound two and twenty days: but we had this ſatisfaction with the diſaſter, that proviſions were here exceeding cheap, and in the utmoſt plenty; ſo that while we lay here, we never touched the ſhip's ſtores, but rather added to them. Here alſo, I took in ſeveral live hogs, and two cows, with their calves, which I reſolved, if I had a good paſſage, to put on ſhore in my iſland; but we found occaſion to diſpoſe otherwiſe of them.

We ſet out on the 5th of February from Ireland, and had a very fair gale of wind for ſome days: as I remember, it might be about the 20th of February, in the evening late, when the mate having the watch, came into the round-houſe, and told us he ſaw flaſh of fire, and heard a gun fired; and while he was telling us of it, a boy came in, and told us the boatſwain heard another. This made us all run out upon the quarter-deck, where, for a while, we heard nothing; but in a few minutes we ſaw a very great light, and found that there was ſome very terrible fire at a diſtance; immediately we had recourſe to our reckonings, in which we all agreed, that there could be no land that way in which the fire ſhewed itſelf, no not for 500 leagues, for it appeared at W. N. W. Upon this, we concluded it muſt be ſome ſhip on fire at ſea; and as by our hearing the noiſe

noiſe of guns juſt before, we concluded that it could not be far off, we ſtood directly towards it, and were preſently ſatisfied we ſhould diſcover it; becauſe the further we ſailed, the greater the light appeared; though the weather being hazy, we could not perceive any thing but the light for a while. In about half an hour's ſailing, the wind being fair for us, though not much of it, and the weather clearing up a little, we could plainly diſcern that it was a great ſhip on fire in the middle of the ſea.

I was moſt ſenſibly touched with this diſaſter, though not at all acquainted with the perſons engaged in it; I preſently recollected my former circumſtances, and in what condition I was in, when taken up by the Portugueſe captain; and how much more deplorable the circumſtances of the poor creatures belonging to that ſhip muſt be, if they had no other ſhip in company with them. Upon this, I immediately ordered that five guns ſhould be fired, one ſoon after another; that, if poſſible, we might give notice to them that there was help for them at hand, and that they might endeavour to ſave themſelves in their boat; for though we could ſee the flames of the ſhip, yet they, it being night, could ſee nothing of us.

We lay by ſome time upon this, only driving as the burning ſhip drove, waiting for day-light; when, on a ſudden, to our great terror, though we had reaſon to expect it, the ſhip blew up in the air; and immediately, that is to ſay, in a few minutes, all the fire was out, that is to ſay, the reſt of the ſhip ſunk: This was a terrible, and indeed, an afflicting ſight, for the ſake of the poor men; who, I concluded, muſt be either all deſtroyed in the ſhip, or be in the utmoſt diſtreſs in their boat, in the middle of the ocean, which, at preſent,

ſent, by reaſon it was dark, I could not ſee: however, to direct them as well as I could, I cauſed lights to be hung out in all the parts of the ſhip where we could, and which we had lanthorns for, and kept firing guns all the night long, letting them know by this, that there was a ſhip not far off.

About eight o'clock in the morning, we diſcovered the ſhip's boats by the help of our perſpective glaſſes; found there were two of them, both thronged with people, and deep in the water. We perceived they rowed, the wind being againſt them; that they ſaw our ſhip, and did their utmoſt to make us ſee them.

We immediately ſpread our antient, to let them know we ſaw them, and hung a waft out, as a ſignal for them to come on board, and then made more ſail, ſtanding directly to them. In little more than half an hour, we came up with them; and, in a word, took them all in, being no leſs than ſixty four men, women, and children; for there were a great many paſſengers.

Upon the whole, we found it was a French merchant-ſhip of 300 tons, homeward-bound from Quebec, in the river of Canada. The maſter gave us a long account of the diſtreſs of his ſhip, how the fire began in the ſteerage, by the negligence of the ſteerſman, but on his crying out for help, was, as every body thought, entirely put out; but they ſoon found that ſome ſparks of the firſt fire had gotten into ſome part of the ſhip, ſo difficult to come at, that they could not effectually quench it; and afterwards getting in between the timbers, and within the ceiling of the ſhip, it proceeded into the hold, and maſtered all the ſkill, and all the application they were able to exert.

They

They had no more to do then, but to get into their boats, which, to their great comfort, were pretty large, being their long-boat, and a great ſhallop, beſides a ſmall ſkiff, which was of no great ſervice to them, other than to get ſome freſh water and proviſions into her, after they had ſecured their lives from the fire. They had indeed ſmall hope of their lives, by getting into theſe boats at that diſtance from any land; only, as they ſaid well, that they were eſcaped from the fire, and a poſſibility that ſome ſhip might happen to be at ſea, and might take them in. They had ſails, oars, and a compaſs, and were preparing to make the beſt of their way back to Newfoundland, the wind blowing pretty fair, for it blew an eaſy gale at S. E. by E. They had as much proviſions and water, as with ſparing it, ſo as to be next doors to ſtarving, might ſupport them about twelve days, in which, if they had no bad weather, and no contrary winds, the captain ſaid, he hoped he might get to the banks of Newfoundland, and might perhaps take ſome fiſh, to ſuſtain them till they might go on ſhore But there were ſo many chances againſt them in all theſe caſes, ſuch as ſtorms, to over-ſet and founder them; rains and cold, to benumb and periſh their limbs; contrary winds, to keep them out and ſtarve them; that it muſt have been next to miraculous if they had eſcaped.

In the midſt of their conſultations, every one being hopeleſs and ready to deſpair, the captain, with tears in his eyes told me, they were on a ſudden ſurprized with the joy of hearing a gun fire, and after that four more; theſe were the five guns which I cauſed to be fired at firſt ſeeing the light. This revived their hearts, and gave them the notice, which, as above,

I desired it should, viz. that there was a ship at hand for their help. It was upon the hearing of these guns, that they took down their masts and sails; the sound coming from the windward, they resolved to lie by till morning. Some time after this, hearing no more guns, they fired three muskets, one a considerable while after another; but these, the wind being contrary, we never heard.

Some time after that again, they were still more agreeably surprized with seeing our lights, and hearing the guns, which, as I have said, I caused to be fired all the rest of the night; this set them to work with their oars, to keep their boats a-head, at least, that we might the sooner come up with them; and at last, to their inexpressible joy, they found we saw them.

It is impossible for me to express the several gestures, the strange ecstasies, the variety of postures which these poor delivered people run into, to express the joy of their souls at so unexpected a deliverence. Grief and fear are easily described; sighs, tears, groans, and a very few motions of the head and hands make up the sum of its variety; but an excess of joy, a surprize of joy, has a thousand extravagancies in it; there were some in tears, some raging and tearing themselves, as if they had been in the greatest agonies of sorrow; some stark raving, and downright lunatic; some ran about the ship stamping with their feet, others wringing their hands; some were dancing, some singing, some laughing, more crying; many quite dumb, not able to speak a word; others sick and vomiting; several swooning, and ready to faint; and a few were crossing themselves, and giving God thanks.

I would

I would not wrong them neither; there might be many that were thankful afterwards, but the paſſion was too ſtrong for them at firſt, and they were not able to maſter it; they were thrown into ecſtaſies and a kind of frenzy, and it was but a very few that were compoſed and ſerious in their joy.

Perhaps alſo the caſe may have ſome addition to it from the particular circumſtance of that nation they belonged to, I mean the French, whoſe temper is allowed to be more volatile, more paſſionate, and more ſprightly, and their ſpirits more fluid than in other nations. I am not philoſopher enough to determine the cauſe, but nothing I had ever ſeen before came up to it. The ecſtaſies poor Friday, my truſty ſavage, was in, when he found his father in the boat, came the neareſt to it; and the ſurprize of the maſter and his two companions, whom I delivered from the villains that ſet them on ſhore in the iſland, came a little way towards it; but nothing was to compare to this, either that I ſaw in Friday, or any where elſe in my life.

It is further obſervable, that theſe extravagancies did not ſhew themſelves in that different manner I have mentioned in different perſons only; but all the variety would appear, in a ſhort ſucceſſion of moments, in one and the ſame perſon. A man that we ſaw this minute dumb, and as it were ſtupid and confounded, ſhould the next minute be dancing and holloing like an antic; and the next moment be tearing his hair or pulling his cloaths to pieces, and ſtamping them under his feet, like madman; in a few moments after that, we would have him all in tears, then ſick, ſwooning, and had not immediate help been had, would in a few moments have been dead; and thus it was not with one or two,

or ten or twenty, but with the greateſt part of them: and, if I remember right, our ſurgeon was obliged to let above thirty of them blood.

There were two prieſts among them, one an old man, and the other a young man; and that which was ſtrangeſt was, the oldeſt man was the worſt. As ſoon as he ſet his foot on board our ſhip, and ſaw himſelf ſafe, he dropt down ſtone dead, to all appearance, not the leaſt ſign of life could be perceived in him; our ſurgeon immediately applied proper remedies to recover him, and was the only man in the ſhip that believed he was not dead; at length he opened a vein in his arm, having firſt chaffed and rubbed the part, ſo as to warm it as much as poſſible: upon this the blood, which only dropped at firſt, flowing freely, in three minutes after the man opened his eyes, and a quarter of an hour after that he ſpoke, grew better, and in a little time, quite well: after the blood was ſtopped he walked about, told us he was perfectly well; took a dram of cordial which the ſurgeon gave him, and was what we called come to himſelf: about a quarter of an hour after this, they came running into the cabin to the ſurgeon, who was bleeding a French woman that had fainted, and told him the prieſt was gone ſtark mad. It ſeems he had begun to revolve the change of his circumſtances in his mind, and again this put him into an ecſtaſy of joy, his ſpirits whirled about faſter than the veſſels could convey them, the blood grew hot and feveriſh, and the man was as fit for Bedlam as any creature that ever was in it: the ſurgeon would not bleed him again in that condition, but gave him ſomething to doſe and put him to ſleep, which after ſome time operated upon him, and he waked next morning perfectly compoſed and well.

The

The younger prieſt behaved with great command of his paſſions, and was really an example of a ſerious, well-governed mind; at his firſt coming on board the ſhip, he threw himſelf flat on his face, proſtrating himſelf in thankfulneſs for his deliverance, in which I unhappily and unſeaſonably diſturbed him, really thinking he had been in a ſwoon; but he ſpoke calmly, thanked me, told me he was giving God thanks for his deliverance, begged me to leave him a few moments, and that, next to his Maker, he would give me thanks alſo.

I was heartily ſorry that I diſturbed him, and not only left him, but kept others from interrupting him alſo: he continued in that poſture about three minutes, or little more, after I left him, then came to me, as he had ſaid he would, and with a great deal of ſerioufneſs and affection, but with tears in his eyes, thanked me, that had, under God, given him and ſo many miſerable creatures their lives: I told him, I had no room to move him to thank God for it, rather than me, for I had ſeen that he had done that already; but I added, that it was nothing but what reaſon and humanity dictated to all men, and that we had as much reaſon as he to give thanks to God, who had bleſſed us ſo far as to make us the inſtruments of his mercy to ſo many of his creatures.

After this, the young prieſt applied himſelf to his country-folks; laboured to compoſe them; perſuaded, entreated, argued, reaſoned with them, and did his utmoſt to keep them within the exerciſe of their reaſon; and with ſome he had ſucceſs, though others were for a time out of all government of themſelves.

I cannot help committing this to writing, as perhaps it may be uſeful to thoſe into whoſe hands it may

fall, for the guiding themſelves in all the extravagancies of their paſſions; for if an exceſs of joy can carry men out to ſuch a length beyond the reach of their reaſon, what will not the extravagancies of anger, rage, and a provoked mind carry us to? And indeed here I ſaw reaſon for keeping an exceeding watch over our paſſions of every kind, as well thoſe of joy and ſatisfaction, as thoſe of ſorrow and anger.

We were ſomething diſordered by theſe extravagancies among our new gueſts for the firſt day, but when they had been retired, lodgings provided for them as well as our ſhip would allow, and they had ſlept heartily, as moſt of them did, being fatigued and frightened, they were quite another ſort of people the next day.

Nothing of good manners or civil acknowledgements for the kindneſs ſhewn them was wanting; the French, it is known, are naturally apt enough to exceed that way. The captain and one of the prieſts came to me the next day, and deſired to ſpeak with me and my nephew: the commander began to conſult with us what ſhould be done with them; and firſt they told us, that as we had ſaved their lives, ſo all they had was little enough for a return to us for that kindneſs received. The captain ſaid they had ſaved ſome money, and ſome things of value in their boats, catched haſtily out of the flames, and if we would accept it, they were ordered to make an offer of it all to us; they only deſired to be ſet on ſhore ſomewhere in our way, where, if poſſible, they might get a paſſage to France. My nephew was for accepting their money at firſt word, and to conſider what to do with them afterwards; but I over-ruled him in that part, for I knew what it was to be ſet on ſhore in a ſtrange country; and if the Portugal captain that took

took me up at ſea, had ſerved me ſo, and took all I had for my deliverance, I muſt have ſtarved, or have been as much a ſlave at the Braſils as I had been at Barbary, the mere being ſold to a Mahometan excepted; and perhaps a Portugueſe is not a much better maſter than a Turk, if not, in ſome caſes, much worſe.

I therefore told the French captain that we had taken them up in their diſtreſs, it was true, but that it was our duty to do ſo, as we were fellow creatures; and we would deſire to be ſo delivered, if we were in the like, or any other extremity; that we had done nothing for them but what we believed they would have done for us, if we had been in their caſe, and they in ours; but that we took them up to ſave them, not to plunder them; and it would be a moſt barbarous thing to take that little from them which they had ſaved out of the fire, and then ſet them on ſhore and leave them; that this would be firſt to ſave them from death, and then kill them ourſelves; ſave them from drowning, and abandon them to ſtarving; and therefore I would not let the leaſt thing be taken from them: as to ſetting them on ſhore, I told them indeed that was an exceeding difficulty to us; for that the ſhip was bound to the Eaſt Indies, and though we were driven out of our courſe to the weſtward a very great way, and perhaps were directed by Heaven on purpoſe for their deliverance, yet it was impoſſible for us wilfully to change our voyage on their particular account; nor could my nephew, the captain, anſwer it to the freighters, with whom he was under charter-party to purſue his voyage by the way of Braſil; and all I knew we could do for them, was to put ourſelves in the way of meeting with other ſhips homeward-bound from

the Weſt Indies, and get them a paſſage, if poſſible, to England or France.

The firſt part of the propoſal was ſo generous and kind, they could not but be very thankful for it; but they were in a very great conſternation, eſpecially the paſſengers, at the notion of being carried away to the Eaſt Indies: they then entreated me, that ſeeing I was driven ſo far to the weſtward before I met with them, I would at leaſt keep on the ſame courſe to the Banks of Newfoundland, where it was probable I might meet with ſome ſhip or ſloop, that they might hire to carry them back to Canada, from whence they came.

I thought this was but a reaſonable requeſt on their part, and therefore I inclined to agree to it; for indeed I conſidered, that to carry this whole company to the Eaſt Indies, would not only be an intolerable ſeverity upon the poor people, but would be ruining our whole voyage, by devouring all our proviſions; ſo I thought it no breach of charter-party, but what an unforeſeen accident made abſolutely neceſſary to us, and in which no one could ſay we were to blame; for the laws of God and nature would have forbid that we ſhould refuſe to take up two boats full of people in ſuch a diſtreſſed condition; and the nature of the thing, as well reſpecting ourſelves as the poor people, obliged us to ſet them on ſhore, ſomewhere or other, for their deliverance; ſo I conſented that we would carry them to Newfoundland, if wind and weather would permit; and if not, that I would carry them to Martinico, in the Weſt Indies.

The wind continued freſh eaſterly, but the weather pretty good; and as the winds had continued in the points between N. E. and S. E. a long time, we miſſed ſeveral opportunities of ſending them to France; for

we met ſeveral ſhips bound to Europe, whereof two were French from St. Chriſtopher's, but they had been ſo long beating up againſt the wind, that they durſt take in no paſſengers, for fear of wanting proviſions for the voyage, as well for themſelves as for thoſe they ſhould take in; ſo we were obliged to go on. It was about a week after this that we made the Banks of Newfoundland; where, to ſhorten my ſtory, we put all our French people on board a bark, which they hired at ſea there, to put them on ſhore, and afterwards to carry them to France, if they could get proviſions to victual themſelves with. When I ſay all the French went on ſhore, I ſhould remember that the young prieſt I ſpoke of, hearing we were bound to the Eaſt Indies, deſired to go the voyage with us, and to be ſet on ſhore on the Coaſt of Coromandel, which I readily agreed to, for I wonderfully liked the man, and had very good reaſon, as will appear afterwards; alſo four of the ſeamen entered themſelves on our ſhip, and proved very uſeful fellows.

From hence we directed our courſe for the Weſt Indies, ſteering away S. and S. by E. for about twenty days together, ſometimes little or no wind at all; when we met with another ſubject for our humanity to work upon, almoſt as deplorable as that before.

It was in the latitude of 27 degrees 5 minutes north, and the 19th day of March, 1694-5, when we ſpied a ſail, our courſe S. E. and by S.; we ſoon perceived it was a large veſſel, and that ſhe bore up to us, but could not at firſt know what to make of her, till after coming a little nearer, we found ſhe had loſt her main top-maſt, fore-maſt and bowſprit, and preſently ſhe fired a gun as a ſignal of diſtreſs: the weather was pretty good, wind

at

at N. N. W. a freſh gale, and we ſoon came to ſpeak with her.

We found her a ſhip of Briſtol, bound home from Barbadoes but had been blown out of the road at Barbadoes, a few days before ſhe was ready to ſail, by a terrible hurricane, while the captain and chief mate were both gone on ſhore; ſo that beſides the terror of the ſtorm, they were in an indifferent caſe for good artiſts to bring the ſhip home. They had been already nine weeks at ſea, and had met with another terrible ſtorm after the hurricane was over, which had blown them quite out of their knowledge to the weſtward, and in which they loſt their maſts, as above: they told us they expected to have ſeen the Bahama iſlands, but were then driven away again to the ſouth-eaſt, by a ſtrong gale of wind at N. N. W. the ſame that blew now, and having no ſails to work the ſhip with but a main-courſe, and a kind of ſquare-ſail upon a jury fore-maſt, which they had ſet up, they could not lie near the wind, but were endeavouring to ſtand away for the Canaries.

But that which was worſt of all, was, that they were almoſt ſtarved for want of proviſions, beſides the fatigues they had undergone; their bread and fleſh was quite gone, they had not one ounce left in the ſhip, and had none for eleven days; the only relief they had was, their water was not all ſpent, and they had about half a barrel of flour left; they had ſugar enough: ſome ſuccades or ſweet-meats they had at firſt, but they were devoured; and they had ſeven caſks of rum.

There was a youth and his mother, and a maid ſervant on board, who were going paſſengers, and thinking the ſhip was ready to ſail, unhappily came on board the evening before the hurricane began, and having no proviſions

viſions of their own left, they were in a more deplorable condition than the reſt; for the ſeamen being reduced to ſuch an extreme neceſſity themſelves, had no compaſſion (we may be ſure) for the poor paſſengers; and they were indeed in a condition that their miſery is very hard to deſcribe.

I had perhaps not known this part, if my curioſity had not led me (the weather being fair, and the wind abated) to go on board the ſhip. The ſecond mate, who upon this occaſion commanded the ſhip, had been on board our ſhip, and he told me indeed, they had three paſſengers in the great cabin, that were in a deplorable condition; nay, ſays he, I believe they are dead, for I have heard nothing of them for above two days; and I was afraid to enquire after them, ſaid he, for I had nothing to relieve them with.

We immediately applied ourſelves to give them what relief we could ſpare; and indeed I had ſo far overruled things with my nephew, that I would have victualled them, though we had gone away to Virginia, or any other part of the coaſt of America, to have ſupplied ourſelves; but there was no neceſſity for that.

But now they were in a new danger; for they were afraid of eating too much, even of that little we gave them: the mate or commander brought ſix men with him in his boat; but theſe poor wretches looked like ſkeletons, and were ſo weak, that they could hardly ſit to their oars: the mate himſelf was very ill, and half ſtarved; for he declared he had reſerved nothing from the men, and went ſhare and ſhare alike with them in every bit they eat.

I cautioned him to eat ſparingly, but ſet meat before him immediately; and he had not eaten three mouthfuls before

before he began to be ſick, and out of order; ſo he ſtopt a while, and our ſurgeon mixed him up ſomething with ſome broth, which he ſaid would be to him both food and phyſic; and after he had taken it, he grew better: in the mean time, I forgot not the men; I ordered victuals to be given them, and the poor creatures rather devoured than eat it: they were ſo exceeding hungry, that they were in a kind ravenous, and had no command of themſelves; and two of them eat with ſo much greedineſs, that they were in danger of their lives the next morning.

The ſight of theſe people's diſtreſs was very moving to me, and brought to mind what I had a terrible proſpect of, at my firſt coming on ſhore in my iſland, where I had never the leaſt mouthful of food, or any proſpect of procuring any; beſides the hourly apprehenſions I had of being made the food of other creatures. But all the while the mate was thus relating to me the miſerable condition of the ſhip's company, I could not put out my of thought the ſtory he had told me of the three poor creatures in the great cabin, viz. the mother, her ſon, and the maid ſervant, whom he had heard nothing of for two or three days, and whom he ſeemed to confeſs they had wholly neglected, their own extremities being ſo great; by which I underſtood, that they had really given them no food at all, and that therefore they muſt be periſhed, and be all lying dead perhaps on the floor or deck of the cabin.

As I therefore kept the mate, whom we then called captain, on board with his men to refreſh them, ſo I alſo forgot not the ſtarving crew that were left on board, but ordered my own boat to go on board the ſhip, and with my mate and twelve men, to carry them a ſack of bread, and four or five pieces of beef to boil. Our ſurgeon

geon charged the men to cauſe the meat to be boiled while they ſtayed, and to keep guard in the cook-room, to prevent the men taking it to eat raw, or taking it out of the pot before it was well boiled, and then to give every man but a very little at a time; and by this caution he preſerved the men, who would otherwiſe have killed themſelves with that very food that was given them on purpoſe to ſave their lives.

At the ſame time, I ordered the mate to go into the great cabin, and ſee what condition the poor paſſengers were in, and if they were alive, to comfort them, and give them what refreſhment was proper; and the ſurgeon gave him a large pitcher, with ſome of the prepared broth which he had given the mate that was on board, and which he did not queſtion would reſtore them gradually.

I was not ſatisfied with this; but, as I ſaid above, having a great mind to ſee the ſcene of miſery which I knew the ſhip itſelf would preſent me with, in a more lively manner than I could have it by report, I took the captain of the ſhip, as we now called him, with me, and went myſelf a little after, in their boat.

I found the poor men on board almoſt in a tumult, to get the victuals out of the boiler before it was ready; but my mate obſerved his orders, and kept a good guard at the cook-room door; and the man he placed there, after uſing all poſſible perſuaſion to have patience, kept them off by force: however, he cauſed ſome biſcuit-cakes to be dipped in the pot, and ſoftened with the liquor of the meat, which they call brewis, and gave them every one ſome, to ſtay their ſtomachs, and told them it was for their own ſafety that he was obliged to give them but little at a time: but it was all in vain; and had I not come on board, and their own comman-

ders

der and officers with me, and with goods words, and ſome threats alſo of giving them no more, I believe they would have broken into the cook-room by force, and tore the meat out of the furnace; for words are indeed of very ſmall force to a hungry belly: however, we pacified them, and fed them gradually and cautiouſly for the firſt, and the next time gave them more, and at laſt filled their bellies, and the men did well enough.

But the miſery of the poor paſſengers in the cabin was of another nature, and far beyond the reſt; for as firſt the ſhip's company had ſo little for themſelves, it was but too true that they had at firſt kept them very low, and at laſt totally neglected them; ſo that for ſix or ſeven days, it might be ſaid, they had really no food at all, and for ſeveral days before very little. The poor mother, who, as the men reported, was a woman of ſenſe and good breeding, had ſpared all ſhe could ſo affectionately for her ſon, that at laſt ſhe entirely ſunk under it; and when the mate of our ſhip went in, ſhe ſat upon the floor or deck, with her back up againſt the ſides, between two chairs, which were laſhed faſt, and her head ſunk between her ſhoulders, like a corpſe, though not quite dead. My mate ſaid all he could to revive and encourage her, and with a ſpoon put ſome broth into her mouth. She opened her lips, and lifted up one hand, but could not ſpeak; yet ſhe underſtood what he ſaid, and made ſigns to him, intimating that it was too late for her, but pointed to her child, as if ſhe would have ſaid, they ſhould take care of him. However, the mate, who was exceedingly moved with the ſight, endeavoured to get ſome of the broth into her mouth, and, as he ſaid, got two or three ſpoonfuls down; though I queſtion whether he could be ſure of it or not: but it was too late, and ſhe died the ſame night.

The

The youth, who was preſerved at the price of his moſt affectionate mother's life, was not ſo far gone; yet he lay in a cabin-bed, as one ſtretched out, with hardly any life left in him. He had a piece of an old glove in his mouth, having eaten up the reſt of it; however, being young, and having more ſtrength than his mother, the mate got ſomething down his throat, and he began ſenſibly to revive; though by giving him, ſome time after, but two or three ſpoonfuls extraordinary, he was very ſick, and brought it up again.

But the next care was the poor maid: ſhe lay all along upon the deck, hard by her miſtreſs, and juſt like one that had fallen down with an apoplexy, and ſtruggled for life. Her limbs were diſtorted; one of her hands was claſped round the frame of a chair, and ſhe griped it ſo hard, that we could not eaſily make her let it go: her other arm lay over her head, and her feet lay both together, ſet faſt againſt the frame of the cabin table: in ſhort, ſhe lay juſt like one in the agonies of death, and yet ſhe was alive too.

The poor creature was not only ſtarved with hunger, and terrified with the thoughts of death, but, as the men told us afterwards, was broken-hearted for her miſtreſs, whom ſhe ſaw dying for two or three days before, and whom ſhe loved moſt tenderly.

We knew not what to do with this poor girl; for when our ſurgeon, who was a man of very great knowledge and experience, had with great application recovered her as to life, he had her upon his hands as to her ſenſes; for ſhe was little leſs than diſtracted for a conſiderable time after, as ſhall appear preſently.

Whoever ſhall read theſe memorandums, muſt be deſired to conſider, that viſits at ſea are not like a jour-

ney into the country, where ſometimes people ſtay a week or a fortnight at a place; our buſineſs was to relieve this diſtreſſed ſhip's crew, but not lie by for them; and though they were willing to ſteer the ſame courſe with us for ſome days, yet we could carry no ſail to keep pace with a ſhip that had no maſts; however, as their captain begged of us to help him to ſet up a main-topmaſt, and a kind of a topmaſt to his jury foremaſt, we did, as it were, lie by him for three or four days; and then having given him five barrels of beef, a barrel of pork, two hogſheads of biſcuit, and a proportion of peas, flour, and what other things we could ſpare; and taking three caſks of ſugar, ſome rum, and ſome pieces of eight of them for ſatisfaction, we left them; taking on board with us, at their own earneſt requeſt, the youth and the maid, and all their goods.

The young lad was about ſeventeen years of age; a pretty, well-bred, modeſt and ſenſible youth, greatly dejected with the loſs of his mother, and, as it ſeems, had loſt his father but a few months before at Barbadoes: he begged of the ſurgeon to ſpeak to me to take him out of the ſhip; for, he ſaid, the cruel fellows had murdered his mother; and indeed ſo they had, that is to ſay, paſſively; for they might have ſpared a ſmall ſuſtenance to the poor helpleſs widow, that might have preſerved her life, though it had been but juſt enough to keep her alive: but hunger knows no friend, no relation, no juſtice, no right; and therefore is remorſeleſs, and capable of no compaſſion.

The ſurgeon told him how far we were going, and that it would carry him away from all his friends, and put him perhaps in as bad circumſtances almoſt as thoſe we found him in, that is to ſay, ſtarving in the world.

world. He ſaid, it mattered not whither he went, if he was but delivered from the terrible crew that he was among; that the captain (by which he meant me, for he could know nothing of my nephew) had ſaved his life, and he was ſure would not hurt him; and as for the maid, he was ſure, if ſhe came to herſelf, ſhe would be very thankful for it, let us carry them where we would. The ſurgeon repreſented the caſe ſo affectionately to me, that I yielded, and we took them both on board with all their goods, except eleven hogſheads of ſugar, which could not be removed or come at; and as the youth had a bill of lading for them, I made his commander ſign a writing, obliging himſelf to go, as ſoon as he came to Briſtol, to one Mr. Rogers, a merchant there, to whom the youth ſaid he was related, and to deliver a letter which I wrote to him, and all the goods he had belonging to the deceaſed widow; which I ſuppoſe was not done, for I could never learn that the ſhip came to Briſtol, but was, as is moſt probable, loſt at ſea; being in ſo diſabled a condition, and ſo far from any land, that I am of opinion, the firſt ſtorm ſhe met with afterwards, ſhe might founder in the ſea; for ſhe was leaky, and had damage in her hold when we met with her.

I was now in the latitude of 19 deg. 32 min. and had hitherto a tolerable voyage, as to weather, though at firſt, the winds had been contrary: I ſhall trouble nobody with the little incidents of wind, weather, currents, &c. on the reſt of our voyage; but, to ſhorten my ſtory, for the ſake of what is to follow, ſhall obſerve, that I came to my old habitation, the iſland, on the 10th of April, 1695. It was with no ſmall difficulty that I found the place; for as I came to it, and went

from it before, on the ſouth and eaſt ſide of the iſland, as coming from the Braſils, ſo now, coming in between the main and the iſland, and having no chart for the coaſt, or any land-mark, I did not know it when I ſaw it, or know whether I ſaw it or no.

We beat about a great while, and went on ſhore on ſeveral iſlands in the mouth of the great river Oronooque, but none for my purpoſe; only this I learned by my coaſting the ſhore, that I was under one great miſtake before, viz. that the continent which I thought I ſaw from the iſland I lived in, was really no continent, but a long iſland, or rather a ridge of iſlands, reaching from one to the other ſide of the extended mouth of that great river; and that the ſavages who came to my iſland, were not properly thoſe which we call Caribees, but iſlanders, and other barbarians of the ſame kind, who inhabited ſomething nearer to our ſide than the reſt.

In ſhort, I viſited ſeveral of theſe iſlands to no purpoſe; ſome I found were inhabited, and ſome were not: on one of them I found ſome Spaniards, and thought they had lived there; but ſpeaking with them, found they had a ſloop lay in a ſmall creek hard by, and they came thither to make ſalt, and to catch ſome pearl muſcles, if they could, but that they belonged to the iſle de Trinidad, which lay farther north, in the latitude of 10 and 11 degrees.

Thus coaſting from one iſland to another, ſometimes with the ſhip, ſometimes with the Frenchmen's ſhallop, which we had found a convenient boat, and therefore kept her with their very good will, at length I came fair on the ſouth ſide of my iſland, and I preſently knew the very countenance of the place; ſo I brought the ſhip ſafe to an anchor, broadſide with the little creek where was my old habitation.

As ſoon as I ſaw the place, I called for Friday, and aſked him if he knew where he was; he looked about a little, and preſently clapping his hands, cried, O yes, O there, O yes, O there, pointing to our old habitation, and fell a dancing and capering like a mad fellow; and I had much ado to keep him from jumping into the ſea, to ſwim aſhore to the place.

Well, Friday, ſays I, do you think we ſhall find any body here or no? And what do you think, ſhall we ſee your father? The fellow ſtood mute as a ſtock a good while, but when I named his father, the poor affectionate creature looked dejected, and I could ſee the tears run down his face very plentifully. What is the matter, Friday? ſays I; are you troubled becauſe you may ſee your father? No, no, ſays he, ſhaking his head, no ſee him more; no never more ſee again. Why ſo, ſaid I, Friday; how do you know that? O no, O no, ſays Friday; he long ago die, long ago; he much old man. Well, well, ſays I, Friday, you don't know; but ſhall we ſee any one elſe then? The fellow, it ſeems, had better eyes than I, and he points to the hill juſt above my old houſe; and though we lay half a league off, he cries out, We ſee, we ſee; yes, yes, we ſee much man there, and there, and there. I looked, but I could ſee nobody, no not with a perſpective glaſs, which was, I ſuppoſe, becauſe I could not hit the place; for the fellow was right, as I found upon inquiry the next day; and there were five or ſix men all together, who ſtood to look at the ſhip, not knowing what to think of us.

As ſoon as Friday told me he ſaw people, I cauſed the Engliſh antient to be ſpread, and fired three guns, to give them notice we were friends; and in about half a quarter of an hour after, we perceived a ſmoke

ariſe from the ſide of the creek; ſo I immediately ordered a boat out, taking Friday with me, and hanging out a white flag, or a flag of truce, I went directly on ſhore, taking with me the young friar I mentioned, to whom I had told the whole ſtory of my living there, and the manner of it, and every particular both of myſelf and thoſe I left there, and who was, on that account, extremely deſirous to go with me. We had beſides about ſixteen men very well armed, if we had found any new gueſts there which we did not know of; but we had no need of weapons.

As we went aſhore upon the tide of flood, near high water, we rowed directly into the creek; and the firſt man I fixed my eye upon was the Spaniard whoſe life I had ſaved, and who I knew by his face perfectly well: as to his habit, I ſhall deſcribe it afterwards. I ordered nobody to go aſhore at firſt but myſelf; but there was no keeping Friday in the boat, for the affectionate creature had ſpied his father at a diſtance, a good way off of the Spaniards, where indeed I ſaw nothing of him; and if they had not let him go aſhore, he would have jumped into the ſea. He was no ſooner on ſhore, but he flew away to his father, like an arrow out of a bow. It would have made any man ſhed tears, in ſpite of the firmeſt reſolution, to have ſeen the firſt tranſports of this poor fellow's joy when he came to his father: how he embraced him, kiſſed him, ſtroked his face, took him up in his arms, ſet him down upon a tree, and lay down by him, then ſtood and looked at him, as any one would look at a ſtrange picture, for a quarter of an hour together, then lie down on the ground, and ſtroke his legs, and kiſs them, and then get up again, and ſtare at him; one would have thought the fellow bewitched.

But

But it would have made a dog laugh to ſee how the next day his paſſion run out another way; in the morning he walked along the ſhore, to and again, with his father ſeveral hours, always leading him by the hand, as if he had been a lady: and every now and then he would come to fetch ſomething or other for him to the boat, either a lump of ſugar, a dram, a biſcuit-cake, or ſomething or other that was good. In the afternoon his frolicks run another way; for then he would ſet the old man down upon the ground and dance about him, and make a thouſand antic poſtures and geſtures; and all the while he did this, he would be talking to him, and telling him one ſtory or other of his travels, and of what had happened to him abroad, to divert him. In ſhort, if the ſame filial affection was to be found in Chriſtians to their parents, in our part of the world, one would be temped to ſay, there would hardly have been any need of the fifth commandment.

But this is a digreſſion: I return to my landing. It would be needleſs to take notice of all the ceremonies and civilities that the Spaniards received me with. The firſt Spaniard, who, as I ſaid, I knew very well, was he whoſe life I had ſaved; he came towards the boat, attended by one more, carrying a flag of truce alſo; and he did not only not know me at firſt, but he had no thoughts, no notion of its being me that was come, till I ſpoke to him. Seignior, ſaid I in Portugueſe, do you not know me? At which he ſpoke not a word, but giving his muſket to the man that was with him, threw his arms abroad, ſaying ſomething in Spaniſh that I did not perfectly hear, came forward, and embraced me; telling me he was inexcuſable, not to know that face again, that he had once ſeen as if an angel from hea-

ven ſent to ſave his life: he ſaid abundance of very handſome things, as a well-bred Spaniard always knows how, and then beckoning to the perſon that attended him, bade him go and call out his comrades. He then aſked me if I would walk to my old habitation, where he would give me poſſeſſion of my own houſe again, and where I ſhould ſee they had made but mean improvements: ſo I walked along with him; but, alas, I could no more find the place again than if I had never been there; for they had planted ſo many trees, and placed them in ſuch a poſture, ſo thick and cloſe to one another, and in ten years time they were grown ſo big, that, in ſhort, the place was inacceſſible, except by ſuch windings and blind ways as they themſelves only, who made them, could find.

I aſked them what put them upon all theſe fortifications: he told me, I would ſay there was need enough of it, when they had given me an account how they had paſſed their time ſince their arriving in the iſland, eſpecially after they had the misfortune to find that I was gone. He told me he could not but have ſome ſatisfaction in my good fortune, when he heard that I was gone in a good ſhip, and to my ſatisfaction; and that he had oftentimes a ſtrong perſuaſion that, one time or other, he ſhould ſee me again; but nothing that ever befel him in his life, he ſaid, was ſo ſurpriſing and afflicting to him at firſt, as the diſappointment he was under when he came back to the iſland, and found I was not there.

As to the three barbarians (ſo he called them) that were left behind, and of whom, he ſaid, he had a long ſtory to tell me, the Spaniards all thought themſelves much better among the ſavages, only that their number was ſo ſmall: and, ſays he, had they been ſtrong enough

enough, we had been all long ago in purgatory; and with that he croſſed himſelf on the breaſt. But, Sir, ſays he, I hope you will not be diſpleaſed when I ſhall tell you, how, forced by neceſſity, we were obliged, for our own preſervation, to diſarm them, and make them our ſubjects, who would not be content with being moderately our maſters, but would be our murderers. I anſwered, I was heartily afraid of it when I left them there, and nothing troubled me at my parting from the iſland, but that they were not come back, that I might have put them in poſſeſſion of every thing firſt, and left the others in a ſtate of ſubjection, as they deſerved; but if they had reduced them to it, I was very glad, and ſhould be very far from finding any fault with it; for I knew they were a parcel of refractory, ungoverned villains, and were fit for any manner of miſchief.

While I was ſaying this, came the man whom he had ſent back, and with him eleven men more. In the dreſs they were in, it was impoſſible to gueſs what nation they were of; but he made all clear both to them and to me. Firſt he turned to me, and pointing to them, ſaid, theſe, Sir, are ſome of the gentlemen who owe their lives to you; and then turning to them, and pointing to me, he let them know who I was; upon which they all come up, one by one, not as if they had been ſailors and ordinary fellows, and the like, but really as if they had been ambaſſadors of noblemen, and I a monarch or great conqueror; their behaviour was to the laſt degree obliging and courteous, and yet mixed with a manly, majeſtic gravity, which very well became them; and, in ſhort, they had ſo much more manners than I, that I ſcarce knew how to receive their civilities, much leſs how to return them in kind.

The hiſtory of their coming to, and conduct in the iſland after my going away, is ſo very remarkable, and has ſo many incidents, which the former part of my relation will help to underſtand, and which will, in moſt of the particulars, refer to that account I have already given, that I cannot but commit them with great delight to the reading of thoſe that come after me.

I ſhall no longer trouble the ſtory with a relation in the firſt perſon, which will put me to the expence of ten thouſand *ſaid I's*, and *ſaid he's*, and *he told me's*, and *I told him's*, and the like; but I ſhall collect the facts hiſtorically, as near as I can gather them out of my memory, from what they related to me, and from what I met with in my converſing with them and with the place.

In order to do this ſuccinctly, and as intelligibly as I can, I muſt go back to the circumſtance in which I left the iſland, and in which the perſons were of whom I am to ſpeak. And firſt, it is neceſſary to repeat, that I had ſent away Friday's father and the Spaniard, the two whoſe lives I had reſcued from the ſavages; I ſay, I had ſent them away in a large canoe to the main, as I then thought it, to fetch over the Spaniard's companions that he left behind him, in order to ſave them from the like calamity that he had been in, and in order to ſuccour them for the preſent, and that, if poſſible, we might together find ſome way for our deliverance afterwards.

When I ſent them away I had no viſible appearance of, or the leaſt room to hope for my own deliverance, any more than I had twenty years before, much leſs had I any foreknowledge of what afterwards happened, I mean of an Engliſh ſhip coming on ſhore there to fetch me off; and it could not but be a very great ſurprize to them when they came back, not only to find that

that I was gone, but to find three ſtrangers left on the ſpot, poſſeſſed of all that I had left behind me, which would otherwiſe have been their own.

The firſt thing, however, which I inquired into, that I might begin where I left off, was of their own part; and I deſired he would give me a particular account of his voyage back to his countrymen with the boat, when I ſent him to fetch them over. He told me there was little variety in that part, for nothing remarkable happened to them on the way, they having very calm weather and a ſmooth ſea: for his countrymen, it could not be doubted, he ſaid, but that they were overjoyed to ſee him; (it ſeems he was the principal man among them, the captain of the veſſel they had been ſhipwrecked in, having been dead ſome time) they were, he ſaid, the more ſurpriſed to ſee him, becauſe they knew that he was fallen into the hands of the ſavages, who, they were ſatisfied, would devour him. as they did all the reſt of their priſoners; that when he told them the ſtory of his deliverance, and in what manner he was furniſhed for carrying them away, it was like a dream to them, and their aſtoniſhment, they ſaid, was ſomewhat like that of Joſeph's brethren, when he told them who he was, and told them the ſtory of his exaltation in Pharaoh's court; but when he ſhewed them the arms, the powder, the ball, and proviſions, that he brought them for their journey or voyage, they were reſtored to themſelves, took a juſt ſhare of the joy of their deliverance, and immediately prepared to come away with him.

Their firſt buſineſs was to get canoes; and in this they were obliged not to ſtick ſo much upon the honeſt part of it, but to treſpaſs upon their friendly ſavages, and

and to borrow two large canoes or periaguas, on pretence of going out a fiſhing, or for pleaſure. In theſe they came away the next morning. It ſeems they wanted no time to get themſelves ready; for they had no baggage, neither cloaths nor proviſions, or any thing in the world but what they had on them, and a few roots to eat, of which they uſed to make their bread.

They were in all three weeks abſent; and in that time, unluckily for them, I had the occaſion offered for my eſcape, as I mentioned in my other part, and to get off from the iſland, leaving three of the moſt impudent, hardened, ungoverned, diſagreeable villains behind me, that any man could deſire to meet with; to the poor Spaniards great grief and diſappointment, you may be ſure.

The only juſt thing the rogues did, was, that when the Spaniards came aſhore, they gave my letter to them, and gave them proviſions and other relief, as I had ordered them to do; alſo they gave them the long paper of directions which I had left with them, containing the particular methods which I took for managing every part of my life there; the way how I baked my bread, bred up tame goats, and planted my corn; how I cured my grapes, made my pots, and, in a word, every thing I did; all this being written down, they gave to the Spaniards; two of them underſtood Engliſh well enough: nor did they refuſe to accommodate the Spaniards with any thing elſe, for they agreed very well for ſome time. They gave them an equal admiſſion into the houſe or cave, and they began to live very ſociably; and the head Spaniard, who had ſeen pretty much of my methods, and Friday's father together, managed all their affairs; for, as for the Engliſhmen, they did nothing

nothing but ramble about the iſland, ſhoot parrots, and catch tortoiſes; and when they came home at night the Spaniards provided their ſuppers for them.

The Spaniards would have been ſatisfied with this, would the others but have let them alone; which, however, they could not find in their hearts to do long, but, like the dog in the manger, they would not eat themſelves, and would not let others eat neither: the differences, nevertheleſs, were at firſt but trivial, and ſuch as are not worth relating, but at laſt it broke out into open war; and it begun with all the rudeneſs and inſolence that can be imagined, without reaſon, without provocation, contrary to nature, and indeed to common ſenſe; and though it is true, the firſt relation of it came from the Spaniards themſelves, whom I may call the accuſers, yet when I came to examine the fellows, they could not deny a word of it.

But before I come to the particulars of this part, I muſt ſupply a defect in my former relation, and this was, that I forgot to ſet down, among the reſt, that juſt as we were weighing the anchor to ſet ſail, there happened a little quarrel on board of our ſhip, which I was afraid once would have turned to a ſecond mutiny; nor was it appeaſed till the captain rouſing up his courage, and taking us all to his aſſiſtance, parted them by force, and making two of the moſt refractory fellows priſoners, he laid them in irons; and as they had been active in the former diſorders, and let fall ſome ugly, dangerous words the ſecond time, he threatened to carry them in irons to England, and have them hanged there for mutiny, and running away with the ſhip.

This, it ſeems, though the captain did not intend to do it, frightened ſome other men in the ſhip, and ſome of

of them had put it into the heads of the reſt, that the captain only gave them good words for the preſent, till they ſhould come to ſome Engliſh port, and that then they ſhould be all put into goal, and tried for their lives.

The mate got intelligence of this, and acquainted us with it; upon which it was deſired that I, who ſtill paſſed for a great man among them, ſhould go down with the mate, and ſatisfy the men, and tell them, that they might be aſſured, if they behaved well the reſt of the voyage, all they had done for the time paſt ſhould be pardoned. So I went, and after paſſing my honour's word to them, they appeared eaſy, and the more ſo when I cauſed the two men that were in irons to be releaſed, and forgiven. But this mutiny had brought us to an anchor for that night; the wind alſo falling calm next morning, we found that our two men who had been laid in irons, had ſtole each of them a muſket, and ſome other weapons, (what powder or ſhot they had we knew not) and had taken the ſhip's pinnace, which was not yet haled up, and run away with her to their companions in roguery on ſhore. As ſoon as we found this, I ordered the long-boat on ſhore, with twelve men and the mate, and away they went to ſeek the rogues; but they could neither find them or any of the reſt, for they all fled into the woods when they ſaw the boat coming on ſhore. The mate was once reſolved, in juſtice to their roguery, to have deſtroyed their plantations, burned all their houſhold ſtuff and furniture, and left them to ſhift without it; but having no orders, he let it all alone, left every thing as they found it, and bringing the pinnace away, came on board without them. Theſe two men made their

number

number five; but the other three villains were ſo much wickeder than they, that after they had been two or three days together, they turned the two new-comers out of doors to ſhift for themſelves, and would have nothing to do with them; nor could they, for a good while, be perſuaded to give them any food: as for the Spaniards, they were not yet come.

When the Spaniards came firſt on ſhore, the buſineſs began to go forward: the Spaniards would have perſuaded the three Engliſh brutes to have taken in their two countrymen again, that, as they ſaid, they might be all one family; but they would not hear of it; ſo the two poor fellows lived by themſelves, and finding nothing but induſtry and application would make them live comfortably, they pitched their tents on the north ſhore of the iſland, but a little more to the weſt, to be out of danger of the ſavages, who always landed on the eaſt parts of the iſland.

Here they built them two huts, one to lodge in, and the other to lay up their magazines and ſtores in; and the Spaniards having given them ſome corn for ſeed, and eſpecially ſome of the peas which I had left them, they dug and planted, and encloſed, after the pattern I had ſet for them all, and began to live pretty well. Their firſt crop of corn was on the ground, and though it was but a little bit of land which they had dug up at firſt, having had but a little time, yet it was enough to relieve them, and find them with bread and other eatables; and one of the fellows being the cook's-mate of the ſhip, was very ready at making ſoup, puddings, and ſuch other preparations as the rice and the milk, and ſuch little fleſh as they got, furniſhed him to do.

They were going on in this little thriving poſture, when the three unnatural rogues, their own countrymen

men too, in mere humour, and to inſult them, came and bullied them, and told them, the iſland was theirs; that the governor, meaning me, had given them the poſſeſſion of it, and nobody elſe had any right to it; and, damn them, they ſhould build no houſes upon their ground, unleſs they would pay them rent for them.

The two men thought they had jeſted at firſt; aſked them to come in and ſit down, and ſee what fine houſes they were that they had built, and to tell them what rent they demanded; and one of them merrily told them, if they were ground-landlords, he hoped, if they built tenements upon their land, and made improvements, they would, according to the cuſtom of landlords, grant them a long leaſe; and bade them go fetch a ſcrivener to draw the writings. One of the three, damning and raging, told them, they ſhould ſee they were not in jeſt; and going to a little place at a diſtance, where the honeſt men had made a fire to dreſs their victuals, he takes a fire-brand, and claps it to the outſide of their hut, and very fairly ſet it on fire; and it would have been all burned down in a few minutes, if one of the two had not run to the fellow, thruſt him away, and trod the fire out with his feet, and that not without ſome difficulty too.

The fellow was in ſuch a rage at the honeſt man's thruſting him away, that he returned upon him with a pole he had in his hand, and had not the man avoided the blow very nimbly, and run into the hut, he had ended his days at once; his comrade ſeeing the danger they were both in, run in after him, and immediately they came both out with their muſkets, and the man that was firſt ſtruck at with the pole, knocked the fellow down that had begun the quarrel, with the ſtock

of

of his muſket, and that before the other two could come to help him; and then ſeeing the reſt come at them, they ſtood together, and preſenting the other ends of their pieces to them, bade them ſtand off.

The others had fire-arms with them too; but one of the two honeſt men, bolder than his comrade, and made deſperate by his danger, told them, if they offered to move hand or foot, they were dead men, and boldly commanded them to lay down their arms. They did not indeed lay down their arms, but ſeeing him ſo reſolute, it brought them to a parley; and they conſented to take their wounded man with them and be gone; and indeed it ſeems the fellow was wounded ſufficiently with the blow. However, they were much in the wrong, ſince they had the advantage, that they did not diſarm them affectually, as they might have done, and have gone immediately to the Spaniards, and given them an account how the rogues had treated them; for the three villains ſtudied nothing but revenge, and every day gave them ſome intimation that they did ſo.

But not to croud this part with an account of the leſſer part of the rogueries, ſuch as treading down their corn, ſhooting three young kids and a ſhe-goat, which the poor men had got to breed up tame for their ſtore; and, in a word, plaguing them night and day in this manner, it forced the two men to ſuch a deſperation, that they reſolved to fight them all three, the firſt time they had a fair opportunity. In order to this, they reſolved to go to the Caſtle, as they called it, that was my old dwelling, where the three rogues and the Spaniards all lived together, at that time, intending to have a fair battle, and the Spaniards ſhould ſtand by, to ſee fair play: ſo they got up in the morning before day, and

and came to the place, and called the Engliſhmen by their names, telling a Spaniard that anſwered, that they wanted to ſpeak with them.

It happened that the day before, two of the Spaniards having been in the woods, had ſeen one of the two Engliſhmen, whom, for diſtinction, I called the honeſt men, and he had made a ſad complaint to the Spaniards of the barbarous uſage they had met with from their three countrymen, and how they had ruined their plantation, and deſtroyed their corn that they had laboured ſo hard to bring forward, and killed the milch-goat and their three kids, which was all they had provided for their ſuſtenance; and that if he and his friends, meaning the Spaniards, did not aſſiſt them again, they ſhould be ſtarved. When the Spaniards came home at night, and they were all at ſupper, one of them took the freedom to reprove the three Engliſhmen, though in very gentle and mannerly terms, and aſked them how they could be ſo cruel, they being harmleſs, inoffenſive fellows; and that they were putting themſelves in a way to ſubſiſt by their labour, and that it had coſt them a great deal of pains to bring things to ſuch perfection as they had.

One of the Engliſhmen returned very briſkly, What had they to do there? That they came on ſhore without leave; and that they ſhould not plant or build upon the iſland; it was none of their ground. Why, ſays the Spaniard, very calmly, Seignior Ingleſe, they muſt not ſtarve. The Engliſhman replied, like a true, rough-hewn tarpauling, They might ſtarve and be damned; they ſhould not plant nor build in that place. But what muſt they do then, ſeignior? ſaid the Spaniard: another of the brutes returned, Do? d—n them,

them, they ſhould be ſervants, and work for them. But how can you expect that of them? ſays the Spaniard; they are not bought with your money: you have no right to make them ſervants. The Engliſhman anſwered, the iſland was theirs; the governor had given it to them, and no man had any thing to do there but themſelves; and with that, ſwore by his Maker, that they would go and burn all their new huts; they ſhould build none upon their land.

Why, ſeignior, ſays the Spaniard, by the ſame rule, we muſt be your ſervants too. Aye, ſays the bold dog, and ſo you ſhall too, before we have done with you; (mixing two or three G—d d—n me's in the proper intervals of his ſpeech) the Spaniard only ſmiled at that, and made him no anſwer. However, this little diſcourſe had heated them; and ſtarting up, one ſays to the other, I think it was he they called Will. Atkins, Come, Jack, let's go, and have t'other bruſh with 'em; we'll demoliſh their caſtle, I'll warrant you; they ſhall plant no colony in our dominions.

Upon this they went all trooping away, with every man a gun, a piſtol, and a ſword, and muttered ſome inſolent things among themſelves, of what they would do to the Spaniards too, when opportunity offered; but the Spaniards, it ſeems, did not ſo perfectly underſtand them as to know all the particulars, only that, in general, they threatened them hard for taking the two Engliſhmen's parts.

Whither they went, or how they beſtowed their time that evening, the Spaniards ſaid, they did not know; but it ſeems they wandered about the country part of the night, and then lying down in the place which I uſed to call my Bower, they were weary, and over-

ſlept themſelves. The caſe was this; they had reſolved to ſtay till midnight, and ſo to take the two poor men when they were aſleep, and, as they acknowledged afterwards, intended to ſet fire to their huts while they were in them, and either burn them in them, or murder them as they came out: as malice ſeldom ſleeps very ſound, it was very ſtrange they ſhould not have been kept awake.

However, as the two men had alſo a deſign upon them, as I have ſaid, though a much fairer one than that of burning and murdering, it happened, and very luckily for them all, that they were up, and gone abroad, before the bloody-minded rogues came to their huts.

When they came there, and found the men gone, Atkins, who, it ſeems, was the forwardeſt man, called out to his comrades, Ha, Jack, here's the neſt, but, d—mn them, the birds are flown. They muſed a while to think what ſhould be the occaſion of their being gone abroad ſo ſoon, and ſuggeſted preſently that the Spaniards had given them notice of it: and with that they ſhook hands, and ſwore to one another that they would be revenged of the Spaniards. As ſoon as they had made this bloody bargain, they fell to work with the poor men's habitation; they did not ſet fire indeed to any thing, but they pulled down both their houſes, and pulled them ſo limb from limb, that they left not the leaſt ſtick ſtanding, or ſcarce any ſign on the ground where they ſtood; they tore all their little collected houſhold-ſtuff in p eces, and threw every thing about in ſuch a manner, that the poor men afterwards found ſome of their things a mile off their habitation.

When they had done this, they pulled up all the young trees which the poor men had planted; pulled

up

up an enclosure they had made to secure their cattle and their corn; and, in a word, sacked and plundered every thing as compleatly as a hord of Tartars would have done.

The two men were at this juncture gone to find them out, and had resolved to fight them wherever they had been, though they were but two to three; so that, had they met, there certainly would have been bloodshed among them; for they were all very stout, resolute fellows, to give them their due.

But Providence took more care to keep them asunder, than they themselves could do to meet; for, as if they had dogged one another, when the three were gone thither, the two were here; and afterwards, when the two went back to find them, the three were come to the old habitation again: we shall see their different conduct presently. When the three came back like furious creatures, flushed with the rage which the work they had been about had put them into, they came up to the Spaniards, and told them what they had done, by way of scoff and bravado; and one of them stepping up to one of the Spaniards, as if they had been a couple of boys at play, takes hold of his hat, as it was upon his head, and giving it a twirl about, fleering in his face, says he to him, "And you, Seignior Jack Spaniard, "shall have the same sauce, if you do not mend your "manners." The Spaniard, who, though a quiet, civil man, was as brave as a man could be desired to be, and withal a strong, well-made man, looked steadily at him for a good while, and then having no weapon in his hand, stept gravely up to him, and with one blow of his fist knocked him down, as an ox is felled with a pole-axe; at which, one of the rogues, as insolent

lent as the firſt, fired his piſtol at the Spaniard immediately: he miſſed his body indeed, for the bullets went through his hair, but one of them touched the tip of his ear, and he bled pretty much. The blood made the Spaniard believe he was more hurt than he really was, and that put him into ſome heat, for before, he acted all in a perfect calm, but now reſolving to go through with his work, he ſtooped, and took the fellow's muſket whom he had knocked down, and was juſt going to ſhoot the man who had fired at him, when the reſt of the Spaniards being in the cave, came out, and calling to him not to ſhoot, they ſtepped in, ſecured the other two, and took their arms from them.

When they were thus diſarmed, and found they had made all the Spaniards their enemies, as well as their own countrymen, they began to cool, and giving the Spaniards better words, would have their arms again; but the Spaniards, conſidering the feud that was between them and the other two Engliſhmen, and that it would be the beſt method they could take to keep them from killing one another, told them they would do them no harm, and if they would live peaceably, they would be very willing to aſſiſt and aſſociate with them as they did before; but that they could not think of giving them their arms again, while they appeared ſo reſolved to do miſchief with them to their own countrymen, and had even threatened them all to make them their ſervants.

The rogues were now no more capable to hear reaſon than to act with reaſon; but being refuſed their arms, they went raving away, and raging like mad men, threatening what they would do, though they had no fire-arms. But the Spaniards deſpiſing their threatening, told

told them they ſhould take care how they offered any injury to their plantation or cattle, for if they did, they would ſhoot them as they would ravenous beaſts, wherever they found them; and if they fell into their hands alive, they ſhould certainly be hanged. However, this was far from cooling them, but away they went, raging and ſwearing like furies of hell. As ſoon as they were gone, came back the two men, in paſſion and rage enough alſo, though of another kind; for having been at their plantation, and finding it all demoliſhed and deſtroyed, as above, it will eaſily be ſuppoſed they had provocation enough: they could ſcarce have room to tell their tale, the Spaniards were ſo eager to tell them theirs; and it was ſtrange enough to find that three men ſhould thus bully nineteen, and receive no puniſhment at all.

The Spaniards indeed deſpiſed them, and eſpecially having thus diſarmed them, made light of their threatenings; but the two Engliſhmen reſolved to have their remedy againſt them, what pains ſoever it coſt to find them out. But the Spaniards interpoſed here too, and told them, that as they had diſarmed them, they could not conſent that they (the two) ſhould purſue them with fire-arms, and perhaps kill them: but, ſaid the grave Spaniard, who was their governor, we will endeavour to make them do you juſtice, if you will leave it to us; for there is no doubt but they will come to us again, when their paſſion is over, being not able to ſubſiſt without our aſſiſtance; we promiſe you to make no peace with them without having a full ſatisfaction for you; and upon this condition, we hope you will promiſe to uſe no violence with them, other than in your own defence. The two Engliſhmen yielded to this very aukwardly and with great reluctance; but

the Spaniards proteſted, they did it only to keep them from bloodſhed, and to make all eaſy at laſt: for, ſaid they, we are not ſo many of us; here is room enough for us all, and it is a great pity we ſhould not be all good friends. At length they did conſent, and waited for the iſſue of the thing, living for ſome days with the Spaniards; for their own habitation was deſtroyed.

In about five days time the three vagarants, tired with wandering, and almoſt ſtarved with hunger, having chiefly lived on turtle eggs all that while, came back to the Grove; and finding my Spaniard, who, as I have ſaid, was the governor, and two more with him, walking by the ſide of the creek, they came up in a very ſubmiſſive, humble manner, and begged to be received again into the family. The Spaniards uſed them civilly, but told them they had acted ſo unnaturally by their countrymen, and ſo very groſsly by them, (the Spaniards) that they could not come to any concluſion without conſulting the two Engliſhmen and the reſt; but, however, they would go to them, and diſcourſe about it, and they ſhould know in half an hour. It may be gueſſed, that they were very hard put to it; for, it ſeems, as they were to wait this half hour for an anſwer, they begged he would ſend them out ſome bread in the mean time, which he did; and ſent them, at the ſame time, a large piece of goat's fleſh, and a boiled parrot, which they eat very heartily, for they were hungry enough.

After half an hour's conſultation, they were called in, and a long debate had among them, their two countrymen charging them with the ruin of all their labour, and a deſign to murder them; all which they owned before, and therefore could not deny now. Upon the whole,

whole, the Spaniards acted the moderator between them; and as they had obliged the two Engliſhmen not to hurt the three while they were naked and unarmed, ſo they now obliged the three to go and rebuild their fellows two huts, one to be of the ſame, and the other of larger dimenſions than they were before; to fence their ground again, where they had pulled up their fences, plant trees in the room of thoſe pulled up, dig up the land again for planting corn, where they had ſpoiled it, and, in a word, to reſtore every thing in the ſame ſtate as they found it, as near as they could; for entirely it could not be, the ſeaſon for the corn, and the growth of the trees and hedges, not being poſſible to be recovered.

Well, they ſubmitted to all this; and as they had plenty of proviſions given them all the while, they grew very orderly, and the whole ſociety began to live pleaſantly and agreeably together again; only, that theſe three fellows could never be perſuaded to work, I mean for themſelves, except now and then a little, juſt as they pleaſed: however, the Spaniards told them plainly, that if they would but live ſociably and friendly together, and ſtudy the good of the whole plantation, they would be content to work for them, and let them walk about and be as idle as they pleaſed: and thus having lived pretty well together for a month or two, the Spaniards gave them arms again, and gave them liberty to go abroad with them as before.

It was not above a week after they had theſe arms and went abroad, but the ungrateful creatures began to be as inſolent and troubleſome as before: but, however, an accident happened preſently upon this, which endangered the ſafety of them all; and they were obliged

to lay by all private reſentments, and look to the preſervation of their lives.

It happened one night, that the Spaniard governor, as I call him, that is to ſay, the Spaniard whoſe life I had ſaved, who was now the captain or leader, or governor of the reſt, found himſelf very uneaſy in the night, and could by no means get any ſleep: he was perfectly well in body, as he told me the ſtory, only found his thoughts tumultuous; his mind run upon men fighting and killing of one another, but was broad awake, and could not by any means get any ſleep; in ſhort, he lay a great while; but growing more and more uneaſy, he reſolved to riſe. As they lay, being ſo many of h m, upon goat-ſkins, laid thick upon ſuch couches and pads as they made for themſelves, and not in hammocks and ſhip-beds, as I did, who was but one, ſo they had little to do, when they were willing to riſe, but to get up upon their feet, and perhaps put on a coat, ſuch as it was, and their pumps, and they were ready for going any way that their thoughts guided them.

Being thus gotten up, he looked out; but, being dark, he could ſee little or nothing; and beſides, the trees which I had planted, as in my former account is deſcribed, and which were now grown tall, intercepted his ſight, ſo that he could only look up, and ſee that it was a clear ſtar-light night, and hearing no noiſe, he returned, and laid him down again: but it was all one, he could not ſleep, nor could he compoſe himſelf to any thing like reſt; but his thoughts were to the laſt degree uneaſy, and he knew not for what.

Having made ſome noiſe with riſing and walking about, going out and coming in, another of them waked, and

and calling, aſked who it was that was up? The governor told him how it had been with him. Say you ſo, ſays the other Spaniard, ſuch things are not to be ſlighted, I aſſure you; there is certainly ſome miſchief working, ſays he, near us; and preſently he aſked him, where are the Engliſhmen? They are all in their huts, ſays he, ſafe enough. It ſeems the Spaniards had kept poſſeſſion of the main apartment, and had made a place where the three Engliſhmen, ſince their laſt mutiny, always quartered by themſelves, and could not come at the reſt. Well, ſays the Spaniard, there is ſomething in it, I am perſuaded, from my own experience: I am, ſatisfied our ſpirits embodied, have a converſe with, and receive intelligence from the ſpirits unembodied, and inhabiting the inviſible world; and this friendly notice is given for our advantage, if we knew how to make uſe of it. Come, ſays he, let us go and look abroad; and if we find nothing at all in it to juſtify the trouble, I'll tell you a ſtory to the purpoſe, that ſhall convince you of the juſtice of my propoſing it.

In a word, they went out, to go up to the top of the hill, where I uſed to go; but they being ſtrong, and a good company, not alone, as I was, uſed none of my cautions, to go up by the ladder, and pulling it up after them, to go up a ſecond ſtage to the top, but were going round through the grove, unconcerned and unwary, when they were ſurprized with ſeeing a light as of fire, a very little way off from them, and hearing the voices of men, not of one or two, but of a great number.

In all the diſcoveries I had made of the ſavages landing on the iſland, it was my conſtant care to prevent them making the leaſt diſcovery of there being any inhabitant

habitant upon the place; and when by any occaſion they came to know it, they felt it ſo effectually, that they that got away, were ſcarce able to give any account of it, for we diſappeared as ſoon as poſſible; nor did ever any that had ſeen me, eſcape to tell any one elſe, except it was the three ſavages in our laſt encounter, who jumped into the boat, of whom I mentioned that I was afraid they ſhould go home and bring more help.

Whether it was the conſequence of the eſcape of thoſe men that ſo great a number came now together, or whether they came ignorantly and by accident, on their uſual bloody errand, the Spaniards could not, it ſeems, underſtand; but whatever it was, it had been their buſineſs either to have concealed themſelves, or not to have ſeen them at all, much leſs to have let the ſavages have ſeen that there were any inhabitants in the place; or to have fallen upon them ſo effectually, as that not a man of them ſhould have eſcaped, which could only have been by getting in between them and their boats: but this preſence of mind was wanting to them, which was the ruin of their tranquillity for a great while.

We need not doubt, but that the governor and the man with him, ſurprized with this ſight, run back immediately, and raiſed their fellows, giving them an account of the imminent danger they were all in, and and they again as readily took the alarm; but it was impoſſible to perſuade them to ſtay cloſe within, where they were, but that they muſt run all out, to ſee how things ſtood.

While it was dark indeed, they were well enough, and they had opportunity enough, for ſome hours, to view them by the light of three fires they had made at a diſtance

tance from one another; what they were doing they knew not, and what to do themſelves they knew not For, firſt, the enemy were too many; and, ſecondly, they did not keep together, but were divided into ſeveral parties, and were on ſhore in ſeveral places.

The Spaniards were in no ſmall conſternation at this ſight; and as they found that the fellows ran ſtraggling all over the ſhore, they made no doubt, but, firſt or laſt, ſome of them would chop in upon their habitation, or upon ſome other place where they would ſee the token of inhabitants; and they were in great perplexity alſo for fear of their flock of goats, which would have been little leſs than ſtarving them, if they ſhould have been deſtroyed: ſo the firſt thing they reſolved upon, was to diſpatch three men away before it was light, viz. two Spaniards and one Engliſhman, to drive all the goats away to the great valley where the cave was, and, if need were, to drive them into the very cave itſelf.

Could they have ſeen the ſavages all together in one body, and at a diſtance from their canoes, they reſolved, if there had been an hundred of them, to have attacked them: but that could not be obtained; for they were ſome of them two miles off from the other; and, as it appeared afterwards, were of two different nations.

After having muſed a great while on the courſe they ſhould take, and beating their brains in conſidering their preſent circumſtances, they reſolved, at laſt, while it was ſtill dark, to ſend the old ſavage, Friday's father, out as a ſpy, to learn, if poſſible, ſomething concerning them; as what they came for, what they intended to do, and the like. The old man readily undertook it; and ſtripping himſelf quite naked, as

moſt

moſt of the ſavages were, away he went. After he had been gone an hour or two, he brings word, that he had been among them undiſcovered; that he found they were two parties, and of two ſeveral nations, who had war with one another, and had a great battle in their own country: and that both ſides having had ſeveral priſoners taken in the fight, they were, by mere chance, landed all on the ſame iſland, for the devouring their priſoners and making merry; but their coming ſo by chance to the ſame place, had ſpoiled all their mirth; that they were in a great rage at one another; and were ſo near, that he believed they would fight again as ſoon as day-light began to appear; but he did not perceive that they had any notion of any body's being on the iſland but themſelves. He had hardly made an end of telling his ſtory, when they could perceive, by the unuſual noiſe they made, that the two little armies were engaged in a bloody fight.

Friday's father uſed all the arguments he could, to perſuade our people to lie cloſe and not be ſeen; he told them their ſafety conſiſted in it, and that they had nothing to do but lie ſtill, and the ſavages would kill one another to their hands, and then the reſt would go away; and it was ſo to a tittle. But it was impoſſible to prevail, eſpecially upon the Engliſhmen; their curioſity was ſo importunate upon their prudentials, that they muſt run out and ſee the battle: however, they uſed ſome caution too, viz, they did not go openly, juſt by their own dwelling, but went farther into the woods, and placed themſelves to advantage, where they might ſecurely ſee them manage the fight, and, as they thought, not be ſeen by them; but, it ſeems, the ſavages did ſee them, as we ſhall find hereafter.

The

The battle was very fierce; and, if I might believe the Engliſhmen, one of them ſaid, he could perceive that ſome of them were men of great bravery, of invincible ſpirits, and of great policy in guiding the fight. The battle, they ſaid, held two hours before they could gueſs which party would be beaten; but then that party which was neareſt our people's habitation began to appear weakeſt, and after ſome time more, ſome of them began to fly; and this put our men again into a great conſternation, leſt any one of thoſe that fled, ſhould run into the grove before their dwelling for ſhelter, and thereby involuntarily diſcover the place; and that, by conſequence, the purſuers would do the like in ſearch of them. Upon this, they reſolved that they would ſtand armed within the wall, and whoever came into the grove, they reſolved to ſally out over the wall and kill them; ſo that, if poſſible, not one ſhould return to give an account of it: they ordered alſo, that it ſhould be done with their ſwords, or by knocking them down with the ſtocks of their muſkets, but not by ſhooting them, for fear of raiſing an alarm by the noiſe.

As they expected it fell out: three of the routed army fled for life, and croſſing the creek, ran directly into the place, not in the leaſt knowing whither they went, but running as into a thick wood for ſhelter. The ſcout they kept to look abroad, gave notice of this within, with this addition, to our men's great ſatisfaction, viz. that the conquerors had not purſued them, or ſeen which way they were gone; upon this, the Spaniard governor, a man of humanity, would not ſuffer them to kill the three fugitives, but ſending three men out by the top of the hill, ordered them to go round,

and

and come in behind them, ſurprize and take them priſoners, which was done. The reſidue of the conquered people fled to their canoes, and got off to ſea: the victors retired, made no purſuit, or very little, but drawing themſelves into a body together, gave two great ſcreaming ſhouts, which they ſuppoſed was by way of triumph, and ſo the fight ended. And the ſame day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, they alſo marched to their canoes. And thus the Spaniards had their iſland again free to themſelves, their fright was over, and they ſaw no ſavages in ſeveral years after.

After they were all gone, the Spaniards came out of their den, and viewing the field of battle, they found about two and thirty men dead on the ſpot: ſome were killed with great long arrows, ſome of which were found ſticking in their bodies, but moſt of them were killed with great wooden ſwords, ſixteen or ſeventeen of which they found in the field of battle, and as many bows, with a great many arrows. Theſe ſwords were ſtrange, great, unweildy things, and they muſt be very ſtrong men that uſed them: moſt of thoſe men that were killed with them had their heads maſhed to pieces, as we may ſay, or as we call it in Engliſh, their brains knocked out, and ſeveral their arms and legs broken; ſo that it is evident they fight with inexpreſſible rage and fury. We found not one man that was not ſtone dead, for either they ſtay by their enemy till they have quite killed him, or they carry all the wounded men that are not quite dead away with them.

This deliverance tamed our Engliſhmen for a great while; the fight had filled them with horror, and the con-

conſequences appeared terrible to the laſt degree, eſpecially upon ſuppoſing that, ſome time or other, they ſhould fall into the hands of thoſe creatures, who would not only kill them as enemies, but kill them for food, as we kill our cattle: and they profeſſed to me, that the thoughts of being eaten up like beef or mutton, though it was ſuppoſed it was not to be till they were dead, had ſomething in it ſo horrible, that it nauſeated their very ſtomachs, made them ſick when they thought of it, and filled their minds with ſuch unuſual terror, that they were not themſelves for ſome weeks after.

This, as I ſaid, tamed even the three Engliſh brutes I have been ſpeaking of; and, for a great while after, they were tractable, and went about the common buſineſs of the whole ſociety well enough; planted, ſowed, reaped, and began to be all naturalized to the country. But ſome time after this, they fell into ſuch ſimple meaſures again, as brought them into a great deal of trouble.

They had taken three priſoners, as I obſerved; and theſe three being luſty, ſtout young fellows, they made them ſervants, and taught them to work for them; and, as ſlaves, they did well enough; but they did not take their meaſures with them as I did by my man Friday, viz. to begin with them upon the principle of having ſaved their lives, and then inſtruct them in the rational principles of life, much leſs of religion, civilizing and reducing them by kind uſage and affectionate arguings; but as they gave them their food every day, ſo they gave them their work too, and kept them fully employed in drudgery enough; but they failed in this, by it, that they never had them to aſſiſt them and fight for them,

them, as I had my man Friday, who was as true to me as the very fleſh upon my bones.

But to come to the family part. Being all now good friends, for common danger, as I ſaid above, had effectually reconciled them, they began to conſider their general circumſtances; and the firſt thing that came under their conſideration was, whether, ſeeing the ſavages particularly haunted that ſide of the iſland, and that there were more remote and retired parts of it equally adapted to their way of living, and manifeſtly to their advantage, they ſhould not rather remove their habitation, and plant in ſome more proper place for their ſafety, and eſpecially for the ſecurity of their cattle and corn.

Upon this, after long debate, it was concluded, that they would not remove their habitation; becauſe that, ſome time or other, they thought, they might hear from their governor again, meaning me; and if I ſhould ſend any one to ſeek them, I ſhould be ſure to direct them to that ſide; where, if they ſhould find the place demoliſhed, they would conclude the ſavages had killed us all, and we were gone; and ſo our ſupply would go too.

But as to their corn and cattle, they agreed to remove them into the valley where my cave was, where the land was as proper for both, and where indeed there was land enough: however, upon ſecond thoughts, they altered one part of that reſolution too, and reſolved only to remove part of their cattle thither, and plant part of their corn there; and ſo if one part was deſtroyed, the other might be ſaved. And one part of prudence they uſed, which it was very well they did, viz. that they never truſted thoſe three ſavages, which they had

had priſoners, with knowing any thing of the plantation they had made in that valley, or of any cattle they had there, much leſs of the cave there, which they kept, in caſe of neceſſity, as a ſafe retreat; and thither they carried alſo the two barrels of powder which I had ſent them at my coming away.

But however they reſolved not to change their habitation, yet they agreed, that as I had carefully covered it firſt with a wall or fortification, and then with a grove of trees, ſo ſeeing their ſafety conſiſted entirely in their being concealed, of which they were now fully convinced, they ſet to work to cover and conceal the place yet more effectually than before. To this purpoſe, as I had planted trees, or rather thruſt in ſtakes, which in time all grew up to be trees, for ſome good diſtance before the entrance into my apartments, they went on in the ſame manner, and filled up the reſt of that whole ſpace of ground, from the trees I had ſet, quite down to the ſide of the creek, where, as I ſaid, I landed my floats, and even into the very ooze where the tide flowed, not ſo much as leaving any place to land, or any ſign that there had been any landing thereabout; theſe ſtakes alſo being of a wood very forward to grow, as I have noted formerly, they took care to have them generally very much larger and taller than thoſe which I had planted; and as they grew apace, ſo they planted them ſo very thick and cloſe together, that when they had been three or four years grown, there was no piercing with the eye any conſiderable way into the plantation: and, as for that part which I had planted, the trees were grown as thick as a man's thigh, and among them they placed ſo many other ſhort ones, and ſo thick, that, in a word, it

ſtood like a palliſado a quarter of a mile thick, and it was next to impoſſible to penetrate it, but with a little army to cut it all down; for a little dog could hardly get between the trees, they ſtood ſo cloſe.

But this was not all; for they did the ſame by all the ground to the right-hand and to the left, and round even to the top of the hill, leaving no way, not ſo much as for themſelves to come out, but by the ladder placed up to the ſide of the hill, and then lifted up, and placed again from the firſt ſtage up to the top; which ladder, when it was taken down, nothing but what had wings or witchcraft to aſſiſt it, could come at them.

This was excellently well contrived, nor was it leſs than what they afterwards found occaſion for; which ſerved to convince me, that as human prudence has the authority of Providence to juſtify it, ſo it has doubtleſs the direction of Providence to ſet it to work; and would we liſten carefully to the voice of it, I am perſuaded we might prevent many of the diſaſters which our lives are now, by our own negligence, ſubjected to: but this by the way.

I return to the ſtory.—They lived two years after this in perfect retirement, and had no more viſits from the ſavages. They had indeed an alarm given them one morning, which put them into a great conſternation; for ſome of the Spaniards being out early one morning on the weſt ſide, or rather end of the iſland, (which, by the way, was that end where I never went, for fear of being diſcovered) they were ſurprized with ſeeing above 'twenty canoes of Indians juſt coming on ſhore.

They made the beſt of their way home in hurry enough; and giving the alarm to their comrades, they kept

kept close all that day and the next, going out only at night to make observation: but they had the good luck to be mistaken; for wherever the savages went, they did not land that time on the island, but pursued some other design.

And now they had another broil with the three Englishmen; one of whom, a most turbulent fellow, being in a rage at one of the three slaves, which I mentioned they had taken, because the fellow had not done something right which he bid him do, and seemed a little untractable in his shewing him, drew a hatchet out of a frog-belt, in which he wore it by his side, and fell upon the poor savage, not to correct him, but to kill him. One of the Spaniards, who was by, seeing him give the fellow a barbarous cut with the hatchet, which he aimed at his head, but struck into his shoulder, so that he thought he had cut the poor creature's arm off, ran to him, and intreating him not to murder the poor man, clapt in between him and the savage, to prevent the mischief.

The fellow being enraged the more at this, struck at the Spaniard with his hatchet, and swore he would serve him as he intended to serve the savage; which the Spaniard perceiving, avoided the blow, and with a shovel which he had in his hand, for they were all working in the field about their corn-land, knocked the brute down. Another of the Englishmen running at the same time to help his comrade, knocked the Spaniard down; and then two Spaniards more came in to help their man, and a third Englishman fell in upon them. They had none of them any fire-arms, or any other weapons but hatchets and other tools, except this third Englishman; he had one of my rusty cutlasses,

with which he made at the two laſt Spaniards, and wounded them both. This fray ſet the whole family in an uproar, and more help coming in, they took the three Engliſhmen priſoners. The next queſtion was, what ſhould be done with them? They had been ſo often mutinous, and were ſo very furious, ſo deſperate, and ſo idle withal, they knew not what courſe to take with them, for they were miſchievous to the higheſt degree, and valued not what hurt they did to any man; ſo that, in ſhort, it was not ſafe to live with them.

The Spaniard who was governor, told them, in ſo many words, that if they had been of his own country, he would have hanged them; for all laws and all governors were to preſerve ſociety, and thoſe who were dangerous to the ſociety, ought to be expelled out of it; but as they were Engliſhmen, and that it was to the generous kindneſs of an Engliſhman that they all owed their preſervation and deliverance, he would uſe them with all poſſible lenity, and would leave them to the judgment of the other two Engliſhmen, who were their countrymen.

One of the two honeſt Engliſhmen ſtood up, and ſaid, they deſired it might not be left to them; for, ſays he, I am ſure we ought to ſentence them to the gallows: and with that he gives an account how Will. Atkins, one of the three, had propoſed to have all the five Engliſhmen join together, and murder all the Spaniards when they were in their ſleep.

When the Spaniſh governor heard this, he calls to William Atkins: How, Seignior Atkins, ſays he, would you murder us all? What have you to ſay to that? The hardened villain was ſo far from denying

ing it, that he ſaid it was true; and, G—d d—n him, they would do it ſtill, before they had done with them. Well, but Seignior Atkins, ſays the Spaniard, what have we done to you, that you will kill us? And what would you get by killing us? And what muſt we do to prevent you killing us? Muſt we kill you, or you kill us? Why will you put us to the neceſſity of this, Seignior Atkins? ſays the Spaniard, very calmly, and ſmiling.

Seignior Atkins was in ſuch a rage at the Spaniard's making a jeſt of it, that had he not been held by three men, and withal had no weapon near him, it was thought he would have attempted to have killed the Spaniard in the middle of all the company.

This hair-brained carriage obliged them to conſider ſeriouſly what was to be done: the two Engliſhmen and the Spaniard who ſaved the poor ſavage, were of the opinion, that they ſhould hang one of the three, for an example to the reſt; and that particularly it ſhould be he that had twice attempted to commit murder with his hatchet: and indeed there was ſome reaſon to believe he had done it, for the poor ſavage was in ſuch a miſerable condition with the wound he had received, that it was thought he could not live.

But the governor Spaniard ſtill ſaid no; it was an Engliſhman that had ſaved all their lives, and he would never conſent to put an Engliſhman to death, though he had murdered half of them: nay, he ſaid, if he had been killed himſelf by an Engliſhman, and had time left to ſpeak, it ſhould be that they ſhould pardon him.

This was ſo poſitively inſiſted on by the governor Spaniard, that there was no gainſaying it; and as merciful counſels are moſt apt to prevail, where they are ſo

earneſtly preſſed, ſo they all came into it; but then it was to be conſidered, what ſhould be done to keep them from doing the miſchief they deſigned; for all agreed, governor and all, that means were to be uſed for preſerving the ſociety from danger. After along debate, it was agreed, firſt, that they ſhould be diſarmed, and not permitted to have either gun, powder, ſhot, ſword, or any weapon; and ſhould be turned out of the ſociety, and left to live where they would, and how they would, by themſelves; but that none of the reſt, either Spaniards or Engliſh, ſhould converſe with them, ſpeak with them, or have any thing to do with them: that they ſhould be forbid to come within a certain diſtance of the place where the reſt dwelt; and if they offered to commit any diſorder, ſo as to ſpoil, burn, kill, or deſtroy any of the corn, plantings, buildings, fences, or cattle belonging to the ſociety, they ſhould die without mercy, and they would ſhoot them wherever they could find them.

The governor, a man of great humanity, muſing upon the ſentence, conſidered a little upon it; and turning to the two honeſt Engliſhmen, ſaid, Hold; you muſt reflect that it will be long ere they can raiſe corn and cattle of their own, and they muſt not ſtarve; we muſt therefore allow them proviſions: ſo he cauſed to be added, that they ſhould have a proportion of corn given them to laſt them eight months, and for ſeed to ſow, by by which time they might be ſuppoſed to raiſe ſome of their own; that they ſhould have ſix milch-goats, four he-goats, and ſix kids given them, as well for preſent ſubſiſtence as for a ſtore; and that they ſhould have tools given them for their work in the fields, ſuch as ſix hatchets, an adze, a ſaw, and the like; but they ſhould have

have none of theſe tools or proviſions, unleſs they would ſwear ſolemnly, that they would not hurt or injure any of the Spaniards with them, or of their fellow Engliſhmen.

Thus they diſmiſſed them the ſociety, and turned them out to ſhift for themſelves. They went away ſullen and refractory, as neither content to go away or to ſtay; but, as there was no remedy, they went; pretending to go and chuſe a place where they would ſettle themſelves; and ſome proviſions were given them, but no weapons.

About four or five days after, they came again for ſome victuals, and gave the governor an account where they had pitched their tents, and marked themſelves out a habitation and plantation; and it was a very convenient place indeed, on the remoteſt part of the iſland, N. E. much about the place where I providentially landed in my firſt voyage, when I was driven out to ſea, the Lord alone knows whither, in my fooliſh attempt to ſurround the iſland.

Here they built themſelves two handſome huts, and contrived them, in a manner, like my firſt habitation, being cloſe under the ſide of a hill, having ſome trees growing already on three ſides of it, ſo that by planting others, it would be very eaſily covered from the ſight, unleſs narrowly ſearched for. They deſired ſome dried goat-ſkins, for beds and covering, which were given them; and upon giving their words that they would not diſturb the reſt, or injure any of their plantations, they gave them hatchets, and what other tools they could ſpare; ſome peas, barley and rice, for ſowing; and, in a word, any thing they wanted, but arms and ammunition.

They lived in this ſeparate condition about ſix months, and had gotten in their firſt harveſt, though the quantity was but ſmall, the parcel of land they had planted being but little; for, indeed, having all their plantation to form, they had a great deal of work upon their hands, and when they came to make boards and pots, and ſuch things, they were quite out of their element, and could make nothing of it; and when the rainy ſeaſon came on, for want of a cave in the earth, they could not keep their grain dry, and it was in great danger of ſpoiling; and this humbled them much: ſo they came and begged the Spaniards to help them, which they very readily did, and in four days worked a great hole in the ſide of the hill for them, big enough to ſecure their corn and other things from the rain; but it was but a poor place, at beſt, compared to mine, and eſpecially as mine was then, for the Spaniards had greatly enlarged it, and made ſeveral new apartments in it.

About three quarters of a year after this ſeparation, a new frolick took theſe rogues, which, together with the former villainy they had committed, brought miſchief enough upon them, and had very near been the ruin of the whole colony. The three new aſſociates began, it ſeems, to be weary of the laborious life they led, and that without hope of bettering their circumſtances; and a whim took them, that they would make a voyage to the continent from whence the ſavages came, and would try if they could ſeize upon ſome priſoners among the natives there, and bring them home, ſo to make them do the laborious part of their work for them.

The project was not ſo prepoſterous, if they had gone no farther: but they did nothing, and propoſed nothing,

thing, but had either miſchief in the deſign, or miſchief in the event: and, if I may give my opinion, they ſeemed to be under a blaſt from Heaven; for if we will not allow a viſible curſe to purſue viſibl crimes, how ſhall we reconcile the events of things with the divine juſtice? It was certainly an apparent vengeance on their crime of mutiny and piracy, that brought them to the ſtate they were in; and as they ſhewed not the leaſt remorſe for the crime, but adding new villainies to it, ſuch as, particularly, the piece of monſtrous cruelty of wounding a poor ſlave, becauſe he did not, or perhaps could not, underſtand to do what he was directed, and to wound him in ſuch a manner, as, no queſtion, made him a cripple all his life, and in a place where no ſurgeon or medicine could be had for his cure; and what was ſtill worſe, the murderous intent, or, to do juſtice to the crime, the intentional murder, for ſuch to be ſure it was, as was afterwards the formed deſign they all laid, to murder the Spaniards in cold blood, and in their ſleep.

But I leave obſerving, and return to the ſtory:—The three fellows came down to the Spaniards one morning, and in very humble terms deſired to be admitted to ſpeak with them: the Spaniards very readily heard what they had to ſay, which was this:—That they were tired of living in the manner they did; and that they were not handy enough to make the neceſſaries they wanted, and that, having no help, they found they ſhould be ſtarved; but if the Spaniards would give them leave to take one of the canoes which they came over in, and give them arms and ammunition proportioned to their defence, they would go over to the main and ſeek their fortunes, and ſo deliver them from

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the trouble of ſupplying them with any other proviſions.

The Spaniards were glad enough to be rid of them, but very honeſtly repreſented to them the certain deſtruction they were running into; told them they had ſuffered ſuch hardſhips upon that very ſpot, that they could, without any ſpirit of prophecy, tell them that they would be ſtarved, or murdered, and bade them conſider of it.

The men replied audaciouſly, they ſhould be ſtarved if they ſtayed here, for they could not work, and would not work, and they could but be ſtarved abroad; and if they were murdered, there was an end of them; they had no wives or children to cry after them: and, in ſhort, inſiſted importunately upon their demand; declaring that they would go, whether they would give them any arms or no.

The Spaniards told them, with great kindneſs, that if they were reſolved to go, they ſhould not go like naked men, and be in no condition to defend themſelves; and that, though they could ill ſpare their fire-arms, having not enough for themſelves, yet they would let them have two muſkets, a piſtol and cutlaſs, and each man a hatchet, which they thought was ſufficient for them.

In a word, they accepted the offer; and having baked them bread enough to ſerve them a month, and given them as much goat's-fleſh as they could eat while it was ſweet, and a great baſket-full of dried grapes, a pot-full of freſh water, and a young kid alive to kill, they boldly ſet out in the canoe for a voyage over the ſea, where it was a leaſt forty miles broad.

The boat indeed was a large one, and would very well have carried fifteen or twenty men, and therefore

was

was rather too big for them to manage; but as they had a fair breeze, and flood-tide with them, they did well enough. They had made a maſt of a long pole, and a ſail of four large goat-ſkins dried, which they had ſewed or laced together, and away they went merrily nough: the Spaniards called after them, *bon veyajo*; and no man ever thought of ſeeing them any more.

The Spaniards were often ſaying to one another, and to the two honeſt Engliſhmen who remained behind, how quietly and comfortably they lived, now theſe three turbulent fellows were gone; as for their coming again, that was the remoteſt thing from their thoughts that could be imagined; when, behold, after two and twenty days abſence, one of the Engliſhmen being abroad upon his planting work, ſees three ſtrange men coming towards him at a diſtance, with guns upon their ſhoulders,

Away runs the Engliſhman, as if he was bewitched, comes frightened and amazed to the governor Spaniard, and tells him they were all undone, for there were ſtrangers landed upon the iſland, he could not tell who. The Spaniard pauſing a while, ſays to him, How do you mean, you cannot tell who? They are the ſavages to be ſure. No, no, ſays the Engliſhman; they are men in cloaths, with arms. Nay then, ſays the Spaniard, why are you concerned? If they are not ſavages, they muſt be friends; for there is no Chriſtian nation upon earth but will do us good rather than harm.

While they were debating thus, came the three Engliſhmen, and ſtanding without the wood, which was new planted, hollaed to them: they preſently knew their voices, and ſo all the wonder of that kind ceaſed. But now the admiration was turned upon another queſ-

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tion, viz. What could be the matter, and what made them come back again?

It was not long before they brought the men in, and enquiring where they had been, and what they had been doing, they gave them a full account of their voyage in a few words, viz. That they reached the land in two days, or ſomething leſs; but finding the people alarmed at their coming, and preparing with bows and arrows to fight them, they durſt not go on ſhore, but ſailed on to the northward ſix or ſeven hours, till they came to a great opening, by which they perceived that the land they ſaw from our iſland was not the main, but an iſland; that entering that opening of the ſea, they ſaw another iſland on the right-hand, north, and ſeveral more weſt; and being reſolved to land ſomewhere, they put over to one of the iſlands which lay weſt, and went boldly on ſhore. That they found the people very courteous and friendly to them; and that they gave them ſeveral roots and ſome dried fiſh, and appeared very ſociable; and the women, as well as the men, were very forward to ſupply them with any thing they could get for them to eat, and brought it to them a great way upon their heads.

They continued here four days; and enquired, as well as they could of them, by ſigns, what nations were this way and that way; and were told of ſeveral fierce and terrible people that lived almoſt every way, who, as they made known by ſigns to them, uſed to eat men; but, as for themſelves, they ſaid, they never eat men or women, except only ſuch as they took in the wars; and then, they owned, that they made a great feaſt, and eat their priſoners.

The Engliſhmen enquired when they had had a feaſt of that kind; and they told them about two moons ago, pointing

pointing to the moon, and then to two fingers; andthat their great king had two hundred priſoners now, which he had taken in his war, and they were feeding them, to make them fat for the next feaſt. The Engliſhmen ſeemed mighty deſirous of ſeeing thoſe priſoners; but the others miſtaking them, thought they were deſirous to have ſome of them to carry away for their own eating; ſo they beckoned to them, pointing to the ſetting of the ſun, and then to the riſing; which was to ſignify, that the next morning, at ſun-riſing, they would bring ſome for them; and accordingly, the next morning, they brought down five women and eleven men, and gave them to the Engliſhmen, to carry with them on their voyage, juſt as we would bring ſo many cows and oxen down to a ſea-port town to victual a ſhip.

As brutiſh and barbarous as theſe fellows were at home, their ſtomachs turned at this ſight, and they did not know what to do. To refuſe the priſoners, would have been the higheſt affront to the ſavage gentry that could be offered them, and what to do with them they knew not. However, upon ſome debates, they reſolved to accept of them; and, in return, they gave the ſavages that brought them, one of their hatchets, an old key, a knife, and ſix or ſeven of their bullets; which, though they did not underſtand, they ſeemed extremely pleaſed with; and then tying the poor creatures hands behind them, they (the people) dragged the priſoners into the boat for our men.

The Engliſhmen were obliged to come away, as ſoon as they had them; or elſe they that gave them this noble preſent, would certainly have expected that they ſhould have gone to work with them, have killed two or three

of

of them the next morning, and perhaps have invited the donors to dinner. But having taken their leave, with all the reſpects and thanks that could well paſs between people, where, on either ſide, they underſtood not one word they could ſay, they put off with their boat, and came back towards the firſt iſland; where, when they arrived, they ſet eight of their priſoners at liberty, there being too many of them for their occaſion.

In their voyage, they endeavoured to have ſome communication with their priſoners, but it was impoſſible to make them underſtand any thing; nothing they could ſay to them, or give them, or do for them, but was looked upon as going about to murder them. They firſt of all unbound them; but the poor creatures ſcreamed at that, eſpecially the women, as if they had juſt felt the knife at their throats; for they immediately concluded they were unbound on purpoſe to be killed. If they gave them any thing to eat, it was the ſame thing; they then concluded, it was for fear they ſhould ſink in fleſh, and ſo not be fat enough to kill. If they looked at one of them more particularly, the party preſently concluded, it was to ſee whether he or ſhe was fatteſt, and fitteſt to kill firſt: nay, after they had brought them quite over, and began to uſe them kindly, and treat them well, ſtill they expected every day to make a dinner or ſupper for their new maſters.

When the three wanderers had given this unaccountable hiſtory or journal of their voyage, the Spaniard aſked them where their new family was; and being told that they had brought them on ſhore, and put them into one of their huts, and were come up to beg ſome victuals for them; they (the Spaniards) and the other two Engliſhmen, that is to ſay, the whole colony, re-

ſolved

ſolved to go all down to the place and ſee them; and did ſo, and Friday's father with them.

When they came into the hut, there they ſat all bound; for when they had brought them on ſhore, they bound their hands, that they might not take the boat, and make their eſcape; there I ſay, they ſat, all of them ſtark naked. Firſt, there were three men, luſty, comely fellows, well ſhaped, ſtraight and fair limbs, about thirty to thirty-five years of age; and five women, whereof two might be from thirty to forty; two more not above four or five and twenty; and the fifth a tall, comely maiden, about ſixteen or ſeventeen. The women were well-favoured, agreeable perſons, both in ſhape and features, only tawny; and two of them, had they been perfect white, would have paſſed for very handſome women, even in London itſelf, having pleaſant, agreeable countenances, and of a very modeſt behaviour; eſpecially when they came afterwards to be cloathed and dreſſed, as they called it, though that dreſs was very indifferent, it muſt be confeſſed; of which hereafter.

The ſight, you may be ſure, was ſomething uncouth to our Spaniards, who were, to give them a juſt character, men of the beſt behaviour, of the moſt calm, ſedate tempers, and perfect good-humour, that ever I met with; and in particular, of the moſt modeſty, as will preſently appear: I ſay, the ſight was very uncouth to ſee three naked men and five naked women, all together bound, and in the moſt miſerable circumſtances that human nature could be ſuppoſed to be, viz. to be expecting every moment to be dragged out, and have their brains knocked out, and then to be eaten up like a calf that is killed for a dainty.

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The firſt thing they did, was to cauſe the old Indian, Friday's father, to go in, and ſee, firſt, if he knew any of them, and then if he underſtood any of their ſpeech; As ſoon as the old man came in, he looked ſeriouſly at them, but knew none of them; neither could any of them underſtand a word he ſaid, or a ſign he could make, except one of the women. However, this was enough to anſwer the end, which was to ſatisfy them that the men into whoſe hands they were fallen, were Chriſtians; that they abhorred eating men or women; and that they might be ſure they would not be killed. As ſoon as they were aſſured of this, they diſcovered ſuch a joy, and by ſuch aukward geſtures, ſeveral ways, as is hard to deſcribe; for, it ſeems, they were of ſeveral nations.

The woman who was their interpreter, was bid, in the next place, to aſk them if they were willing to be ſervants, and to work for the men who had brought them away, to ſave their lives; at which they all fell a dancing; and preſently one fell to taking up this, and another that, any thing that lay next, to carry on their ſhoulders, to intimate that they were willing to work.

The governor, who found that the having women among them, would preſently be attended with ſome inconvenience, and might occaſion ſome ſtrife, and perhaps blood, aſked the three men what they intended to do with theſe women, and how they intended to uſe them, whether as ſervants or as women? One of the Engliſhmen anſwered very boldly and readily, that they would uſe them as both; to which the governor ſaid, I am not going to reſtrain you from it; you are your own maſters as to that; but this I think is but juſt, for avoiding

avoiding diſorders and quarrels among you; and I deſire it of you, for that reaſon only, viz. That you will all engage, that if any of you take any of theſe women, as a woman or wife, that he ſhall take but one; and that having taken one, none elſe ſhould touch her; for though we cannot marry any one of you, yet it is but reaſonable, that while you ſtay here, the woman any of you takes, ſhould be maintained by the man that takes her, and ſhould be his wife; I mean, ſays he, while he continues here, and that none elſe ſhall have any thing to do with her: All this appeared ſo juſt, that every one agreed to it without any difficulty.

Then the Engliſhmen aſked the Spaniards, if they deſigned to take any of them? But every one anſwered no: Some of them ſaid they had wives in Spain, and the others did not like women that were not Chriſtians; and all together declared, that they would not touch one of them; which was an inſtance of ſuch virtue as I have not met with in all my travels. On the other hand, to be ſhort, the five Engliſhmen took them every one a wife, that is to ſay, a temporary wife; and ſo they ſet up a new form of living; for the Spaniards and Friday's father lived in my old habitation, which they had enlarged exceedingly within. The three ſervants which were taken in the late battle of the ſavages, lived with them; and theſe carried on the main part of the colony, ſupplied all the reſt with food, and aſſiſting them in any thing as they could, or as they found neceſſity required.

But the wonder of this ſtory was, how five ſuch refractory, ill-matched fellows, ſhould agree about theſe women, and that two of them ſhould not pitch upon the ſame woman, eſpecially ſeeing two or three of them

were, without compariſon, more agreeable than the others: But they took a good way enough to prevent quarrelling among themſelves; for they ſet the five women by themſelves in one of their huts, and they went all into the other hut, and drew lots among them, who ſhould chuſe firſt.

He that drew to chuſe firſt, went away by himſelf to the hut where the poor naked creatures were, and fetched out her he choſe; and it was worth obſerving, that he that choſe firſt, took her that was reckoned the homelieſt and oldeſt of the five, which made mirth enough among the reſt; and even the Spaniards laughed at it: but the fellow conſidered better than any of them, that it was application and buſineſs they were to expect aſſiſtance in, as much as any thing elſe; and ſhe proved the beſt wife of all the parcel.

When the poor women ſaw themſelves ſet in a row thus, and fetched out one by one, the terrors of their condition returned upon them again, and they firmly believed they were now going to be devoured. Accordingly, when the Engliſh ſailor came in and fetched out one of them, the reſt ſet up a moſt lamentable cry, and hung about her, and took their leave of her with ſuch agonies and ſuch affection, as would have grieved the hardeſt heart in the world; nor was it poſſible for the Engliſhman to ſatisfy them, that they were not to be immediately murdered, till they fetched the old man, Friday's father, who immediately let them know that the five men, who had fetched them out one by one, had choſen them for their wives.

When they had done, and the fright the women were in was a little over, the men went to work, and the Spaniards came and helped them: and in a few hours, they

they had built them every one a new hut or tent for their lodging apart: for thoſe they had already, were crowded with their tools, houſhold ſtuff, and proviſion. The three wicked ones had pitched fartheſt off, and the two honeſt ones nearer, but both on the north ſhore of the iſland, ſo that they continued ſeparated as before: and thus my iſland was peopled in three places; and, as I might ſay, three towns were begun to be planted.

And here 'tis very well worth obſerving, that as it often happens in the world, (what the wiſe ends of God's providence are in ſuch a diſpoſition of things, I cannot ſay) the two honeſt fellows had the two worſt wives; and the three reprobates, that were ſcarce worth hanging, that were fit for nothing, and neither ſeemed born to do themſelves good, or any one elſe, had three clever, diligent, careful and ingenious wives; not that the two firſt were ill wives, as to their temper or humour; for all the five were moſt willing, quiet, paſſive and ſubjected creatures, rather like ſlaves than wives; but my meaning is, they were not alike capable, ingenious, or induſtrious, or alike cleanly and neat.

Another obſervation I muſt make, to the honour of a diligent application on one hand, and to the diſgrace of a ſlothful, negligent, idle temper on the other, that when I came to the place, and viewed the ſeveral improvements, plantings, and management of the ſeveral little colonies, the two men had ſo far out-gone the three, that there was no compariſon. They had indeed both of them as much ground laid out for corn as they wanted, and the reaſon was, becauſe, according to my rule, nature dictated that it was to no purpoſe to

ſow more corn than they wanted; but the difference of the cultivation, of the planting, of the fences, and indeed of every thing elſe, was eaſy to be ſeen at firſt view.

The two men had innumerable young trees planted about their huts, that when you came to the place, nothing was to be ſeen but a wood; and though they had twice had their plantation demoliſhed, once by their own countrymen, and once by the enemy, as ſhall be ſhewn in its place, yet they had reſtored all again, and every thing was thriving and flouriſhing about them: they had grapes planted in order, and managed like a vineyard, though they had themſelves never ſeen any thing of that kind; and by their good ordering their vines their grapes were as good again as any of the others. They had alſo found themſelves out a retreat in the thickeſt part of the woods; where, though there was not a natural cave, as I had found, yet they made one with inceſſant labour of their hands, and where, when the miſchief which followed happened, they ſecured their wives and children, ſo as they could never be found; they having, by ſticking innumerable ſtakes and poles of the wood, which, as I ſaid, grew ſo eaſily, made the grove unpaſſable, except in ſome places where they climbed up to get over the outſide part, and then went on by ways of their own leaving.

As to the three reprobates, as I juſtly call them, though they were much civilized by their new ſettlement, compared to what they were before, and were not ſo quarrelſome, having not the ſame opportunity; yet one of the certain companions of a profligate mind never left them, and that was their idleneſs. 'Tis true, they planted corn, and made fences; but Solomon's words

words were never better verified than in them: "I "went by the vineyard of the ſlothful, and it was all "overgrown with thorns;" for when the Spaniards came to view their crop, they could not ſee it in ſome places for weeds; the hedge had ſeveral gaps in it, where the wild goats had got in and eaten up the corn; perhaps here and there a dead buſh was crammed in, to ſtop them out for the preſent, but it was only ſhutting the ſtable-door after the ſteed was ſtolen; whereas, when they looked on the colony of the other two, there was the very face of induſtry and ſucceſs upon all they did; there was not a weed to be ſeen in all their corn, or a gap in any of their hedges; and they, on the other hand, verified Solomon's words in another place: "that the diligent hand maketh rich"; for every thing grew and thrived, and they had plenty within and without; they had more tame cattle than the others, more utenſils and neceſſaries within-doors, and yet more pleaſure and diverſion too.

It is true, the wives of the three were very handy and cleanly within-doors, and having learned the Engliſh ways of dreſſing and cooking from one of the other Engliſhmen, who, as I ſaid, was a cook's-mate on board the ſhip, they dreſſed their huſbands victuals very nicely and well; whereas the others could not be brought to underſtand it; but then the huſband, who, as I ſay, had been cook's-mate, did it himſelf. But as for the huſbands of the three wives, they loitered about, fetched turtle eggs, and caught fiſh and birds; in a word, any thing but labour, and they fared accordingly. The diligent lived well and comfortably; and the ſlothful lived hard and beggarly: and ſo I believe, generally ſpeaking, it is all over the world.

But I now come to a ſcene different from all that had happened before, either to them or to me; and the original of the ſtory was this.

Early one morning, there came on ſhore five or ſix canoes of Indians or ſavages, call them which you pleaſe; and there is no room to doubt they came upon the old errand of feeding upon their ſlaves; but that part was now ſo familiar to the Spaniards, and to our men too, that they did not concern themſelves about it, as I did: but having been made ſenſible, by their experience, that their only buſineſs was to lie concealed, and that if they were not ſeen by any of the ſavages, they would go off again quietly, when their buſineſs was done, having, as yet, not the leaſt notion of there being any inhabitants in the iſland; I ſay, having been made ſenſible of this, they had nothing to do but give notice to all the three plantations to keep within-doors, and not ſhew themſelves, only placing a ſcout in a proper place, to give notice when the boats went to ſea again.

This was, without doubt, very right; but a diſaſter ſpoiled all theſe meaſures, and made it known among the ſavages that there were inhabitants there; which was, in the end the deſolation of almoſt the whole colony. After the canoes with the ſavages were gone off, the Spaniards peeped abroad again; and ſome of them had the curioſity to go to the place where they had been, to ſee what they had been doing. Here, to their great ſurprize, they found three ſavages left behind, and laying faſt aſleep upon the ground. It was ſuppoſed they had either been ſo gorged with their inhuman feaſt, that, like beaſts, they were fallen aſleep, and would not ſtir when the others went, or they had wan-

wandered into the woods, and did not come back in time to be taken in.

The Spaniards were greatly ſurprized at this ſight, and perfectly at a loſs what to do. The Spaniſh governor, as it happened, was with them, and his advice was aſked, but he profeſſed he knew not what to do. As for ſlaves, they had enough already; and as to killing them, they were none of them inclined to that: the Spaniard governor told me, they could not think of ſhedding innocent blood; for, as to them, the poor creatures had done them no wrong, invaded none of their property, and they thought they had no juſt quarrel againſt them, to take away their lives.

And here I muſt, in juſtice to theſe Spaniards, obſerve, that let the accounts of Spaniſh cruelty in Mexico and Peru, be what they will, I never met with ſeventeen men of any nation whatſoever, in any foreign country, who were ſo univerſally modeſt, temperate, virtuous, ſo very good-humoured, and ſo courteous, as theſe Spaniards; and as to cruelty, they had nothing of it in their very nature: no inhumanity, no barbarity, no outrageous paſſions; and yet all of them men of great courage and ſpirit.

Their temper and calmneſs had appeared in their bearing the inſufferable uſage of the three Engliſhmen; and their juſtice and humanity appeared now in the caſe of the ſavages, as above. After ſome conſultation, they reſolved upon this; that they would lie ſtill a while longer, 'till if poſſible, theſe three men might be gone. But then the governor Spaniard recollected, that the three ſavages had no boat; and if they were left to rove about the iſland, they would certainly diſ-

cover that there were inhabitants in it; and ſo they ſhould be undone that way.

Upon this they went back again, and there lay the fellows faſt aſleep ſtill: and ſo they reſolved to waken them, and take them priſoners; and they did ſo. The poor fellows were ſtrangely frightened when they were ſeized upon and bound; and afraid, like the women, that they ſhould be murdered and eaten: for, it ſeems, thoſe people think all the world does as they do, eating men's fleſh; but they were ſoon made eaſy as to that; and away they carried them.

It was very happy for them that they did not carry them home to their caſtle, I mean to my palace under the hill; but they carried them firſt to the bower, where was the chief of their country work, ſuch as the keeping the goats, the planting the corn, &c.; and afterwards they carried them to the habitation of the two Engliſhmen.

Here they were ſet to work, though it was not much they had for them to do; and whether it was by negligence in guarding them, or that they thought the fellows could not mend themſelves, I know not; but one of them ran away, and taking to the woods, they could never hear of him any more.

They had good reaſon to believe he got home again ſoon after, in ſome other boats or canoes of ſavages who came on ſhore three or four weeks afterwards; and who, carrying on their revels as uſual, went off in two days time. This thought terrified them exceedingly; for they concluded, and that not without good cauſe indeed, that if this fellow came home ſafe among his comrades, he would certainly give them an account that there were people in the iſland, and alſo how few

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and weak they were; for this ſavage, as I obſerved before, had never been told, and it was very happy he had not, how many there were, or where they lived; nor had he ever ſeen or heard the fire of any of their guns, much leſs had they ſhewn him any of their other retired places; ſuch as the cave in the valley, or the new retreat which the two Engliſhmen had made, and the like.

The firſt teſtimony they had that this fellow had given intelligence of them, was, that about two months after this, ſix canoes of ſavages, with about ſeven, or eight, or ten men in a canoe, came rowing along the north ſide of the iſland, where they never uſed to come before, and landed, about an hour after ſun-riſe, at a convenient place, about a mile from the habitation of the two Engliſhmen, where this eſcaped man had been kept. As the Spaniard governor ſaid, had they been all there, the damage would not have been ſo much, for not a man of them would have eſcaped; but the caſe differed now very much, for two men to fifty was too much odds. The two men had the happineſs to diſcover them about a league off, ſo that it was above an hour before they landed; and as they landed a mile from their huts, it was ſome time before they could come at them. Now, having great reaſon to believe that they were betrayed, the firſt thing they did, was to bind the two ſlaves which were left, and cauſe two of the three men whom they brought with the women, who, it ſeems, proved very faithful to them, to lead them, with their two wives, and whatever they could carry away with them, to their retired places in the woods, which I have ſpoken of above,

above, and there to bind the two fellows hand and foot, till they heard farther.

In the next place, ſeeing the ſavages were all come on ſhore, and that they had bent their courſe directly that way, they opened the fences where the milch-goats were kept, and drove them all out; leaving their goats to ſtraggle in the woods, whither they pleaſed, that the ſavages might think they were all bred wild: but the rogue who came with them, was too cunning for that, and gave them an account of it all, for they went directly to place.

When the two poor frightened men had ſecured their wives and goods, they ſent the other ſlave they had, of the three who came with the women, and who was at their place by accident, away to the Spaniards with all ſpeed, to give them the alarm, and deſire ſpeedy help; and, in the mean time, they took their arms, and what ammunition they had, and retreated towards the place in the wood where their wives were ſent; keeping at a diſtance, yet ſo that they might ſee, if poſſible, which way the ſavages took.

They had not gone far, but that from a riſing ground, they could ſee the little army of their enemies come on directly to their habitation, and in a moment more, could ſee all their huts and houſhold-ſtuff flaming up together, to their great grief and mortification; for they had a very great loſs, to them irretrievable, at leaſt for ſome time. They kept their ſtation for a while, till they found the ſavages, like wild beaſts, ſpread themſelves all over the place, rummaging every way, and every place they could think of, in ſearch of prey, and in particular for the people, of whom now, it plainly appeared, they had intelligence.

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The two Engliſhmen ſeeing this, thinking themſelves not ſecure where they ſtood, becauſe it was likely ſome of the wild people might come that way, ſo they might come too many together, thought it proper to make another retreat about half a mile farther; believing, as it afterwards happened, that the farther they ſtrolled, the fewer would be together.

Their next halt was at the entrance into a very thick grown part of the woods, and where an old trunk of a tree ſtood, which was hollow and vaſtly large; and in this tree they both took their ſtanding, reſolving to ſee there what might offer.

They had not ſtood there long, but two of the ſavages appeared running directly that way, as if they had already had notice where they ſtood, and were coming up to attack them; and a little way farther they eſpied three more coming after them, and five more beyond them, all coming the ſame way: beſides which, they ſaw ſeven or eight more at a diſtance, running another way; for, in a word, they ran every way, like ſportſmen beating for their game.

The poor men were now in great perplexity whether they ſhould ſtand and keep their poſture, or fly; but, after a very ſhort debate with themſelves, they conſidered, that if the ſavages ranged the country thus, before help came, they might perhaps find out their retreat in the woods, and then all would be loſt: ſo they reſolved to ſtand them there; and if they were too many to deal with, then they would get up to the top of the tree, from whence they doubted not to defend themſelves, fire excepted, as long as their ammunition laſted, though all the ſavages that were landed, which was near fifty, were to attack them.

Having reſolved upon this, they next conſidered whether they ſhould fire at the firſt two, or wait for the three, and ſo take the middle party, by which the two and the five that followed would be ſeparated; at length they reſolved to let the two firſt paſs by, unleſs they ſhould ſpy them in the tree, and come to attack them. The two firſt ſavages confirmed them alſo in this regulation, by turning a little from them towards another part of the wood; but the three and the five after them, came forward directly to the tree, as if they had known the Engliſhmen were there.

Seeing them come ſo ſtraight toward them, they reſolved to take them in a line as they came: and as they reſolved to fire but one at a time, perhaps the firſt ſhot might hit them all three; to which purpoſe, the man who was to fire, put three or four ſmall bullets into his piece; and having a fair loop-hole, as it were, from a broken hole in the tree, he took a ſure aim, without being ſeen, waiting till they were within about thirty yards of the tree, ſo that he could not miſs.

While they were thus waiting, and the ſavages came on, they plainly ſaw that one of the three was the runaway ſavage that had eſcaped from them; and they both knew him diſtinctly, and reſolved, that, if poſſible, he ſhould not eſcape, though they ſhould both fire; ſo the other ſtood ready with his piece, that if he did not drop at the firſt ſhot, he ſhould be ſure to have a ſecond.

But the firſt was too good a markſman to miſs his aim; for as the ſavages kept near one another, a little behind, in a line, in a word, he fired, and hit two of them directly: the foremoſt was killed out-right, being ſhot in the head: the ſecond, which was the runaway

way Indian, was ſhot through the body, and fell, but was not quite dead; and the third had a little ſcratch in the ſhoulder, perhaps by the ſame ball that went through the body of the ſecond; and being dreadfully frightened, though not ſo much hurt, ſat down upon the ground, ſcreaming and yelling in a hideous manner.

The five that were behind, more frightened with the noiſe than ſenſible of the danger, ſtood ſtill at firſt; for the woods made the ſound a thouſand times bigger than it really was, the echoes rattling from one ſide to another, and the fowls riſing from all parts, ſcreaming and making, every ſort, a ſeveral kind of noiſe, according to their kind; juſt as it was when I fired the firſt gun that perhaps was ever ſhot off in that place, ſince it was an iſland.

However, all being ſilent again, and they not knowing what the matter was, came on unconcerned, till they came to the place where their companions lay, in a condition miſerable enough; and here the poor, ignorant creatures, not ſenſible that they were within reach of the ſame miſchief, ſtood all of a huddle over the wounded man, talking, and, as may be ſuppoſed, inquiring of him how he came to be hurt; and who, it is very rational to believe, told them, that a flaſh of fire firſt, and immediately after that, thunder from their gods, had killed thoſe two and wounded him. This, I ſay, is rational; for nothing is more certain than that, as they ſaw no man near them, ſo they had never heard a gun in all their lives, nor ſo much as heard of a gun; neither knew they any thing of killing and wounding at a diſtance with fire and bullets; if they had, one might reaſonably believe they would not have ſtood ſo unconcerned in viewing the fate of their

their fellows, without ſome apprehenſions of their own.

Our two men, though, as they confeſſed to me, it grieved them to be obliged to kill ſo many poor creatures, who, at the ſame time, had no notion of their danger; yet, having them all thus in their power, and the firſt having loaded his piece again, reſolved to let fly both together among them; and ſingling out, by agreement, which to aim at, they ſhot together, and killed or very much wounded four of them; the fifth, frightened even to death, though not hurt, fell with the reſt; ſo that our men ſeeing them all fall together, thought they had killed them all.

The belief that the ſavages were all killed, made our two men come boldly out from the tree before they had charged their guns, which was a wrong ſtep; and they were under ſome ſurprize when they came to the place and found no leſs than four of them alive, and of them two very little hurt, and one not at all: this obliged them to fall upon them with the ſtocks of their muſkets; and firſt they made ſure of the runaway ſavage, that had been the cauſe of all the miſchief, and of another that was hurt in the knee, and put them out of their pain; then the man that was not hurt at all, came and kneeled down to them, with his two hands held up, and made piteous moans to them, by geſtures and ſigns, for his life; but could not ſay one word to them that they could underſtand.

However, they ſigned to him to ſit down at the foot of a tree hard by; and one of the Engliſhmen, with a piece of rope-twine, which he had by great chance in his pocket, tied his two hands behind him, and there they left him; and with what ſpeed they could, made after

after the other two, which were gone before, fearing they, or any more of them, ſhould find the way to their covered place in the woods, where their wives, and the few goods they had left, lay. They came once in ſight of the two men, but it was at a great diſtance; however, they had the ſatisfaction to ſee them croſs over a valley towards the ſea, the quite contrary way from that which led to their retreat, which they were afraid of; and being ſatisfied with that, they went back to the tree, where they left their priſoner, who, as they ſuppoſed, was delivered by his comrades, for he was gone, and the two pieces of rope-yarn, with which they had bound him, lay juſt at the foot of the tree.

They were now in as great a concern as before, not knowing what courſe to take, or how near the enemy might be, or in what numbers; ſo they reſolved to go away to the place where their wives were, to ſee if all was well there, and to make them eaſy, who were in fright enough to be ſure; for though the ſavages were their own country-folk, yet they were moſt terribly afraid of them, and perhaps the more for the knowledge they had of them.

When they came there, they found the ſavages had been in the wood, and very near that place, but had not found it; for it was indeed inacceſſible by the trees ſtanding ſo thick, as before, unleſs the perſons ſeeking it had been directed by thoſe that knew it, which theſe did not: they found therefore every thing very ſafe, only the women in a terrible fright. While they were here, they had the comfort to have ſeven of the Spaniards come to their aſſiſtance; the other ten, with their ſervants, and old Friday, I mean Friday's father, were gone in a body to defend their bower, and the corn

corn and cattle that was kept there, in caſe the ſavages ſhould have roved over to that ſide of the country; but they did not ſpread ſo far. With the ſeven Spaniards, came one of the three ſavages who, as I ſaid, were their priſoners formerly; and with them alſo came the ſavage whom the Engliſhmen had left bound hand and foot at the tree; for, it ſeems, they came that way, ſaw the ſlaughter of the ſeven men, and unbound the eighth, and brought him along with them; where, however, they were obliged to bind him again, as they had the two others who were left when the third ran away.

The priſoners began now to be a burthen to them; and they were ſo afraid of their eſcaping, that they were once reſolving to kill them all, believing they were under an abſolute neceſſity to do ſo, for their own preſervation. However, the Spaniard governor would not conſent to it; but ordered, for the preſent, that they ſhould be ſent out of the way, to my old cave in the valley, and be kept there, with two Spaniards to guard them, and give them food for their ſubſiſtence, which was done; and they were bound there hand and foot for that night.

When the Spaniards came, the two Engliſhmen were ſo encouraged, that they could not ſatisfy themſelves to ſtay any longer there: but taking five of the Spaniards and themſelves, with four muſkets and a piſtol among them, and two ſtout quarter-ſtaves, away they went in queſt of the ſavages. And firſt they came to the tree where the men lay that had been killed; but it was eaſy to ſee that ſome more of the ſavages had been there, for they had attempted to carry their dead men away, and had dragged two of them a good way, but had given it over. From thence they advanced to

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the firſt riſing ground, where they had ſtood and ſeen their camp deſtroyed, and where they had the mortification ſtill to ſee ſome of the ſmoak; but neither could they here ſee any of the ſavages. They then reſolved, though with all poſſible caution, to go forward towards their ruined plantation; but a little before they came thither, coming in ſight of the ſea-ſhore, they ſaw plainly the ſavages all embarked again in their canoes, in order to be gone.

They ſeemed ſorry, at firſt, that there was no way to come at them, to give them a parting blow; but, upon the whole, they were very well ſatisfied to be rid of them.

The poor Engliſhmen being now twice ruined, and all their improvements deſtroyed, the reſt all agreed to come and help them to rebuild, and to aſſiſt them with needful ſupplies. Their three countrymen, who were not yet noted for having the leaſt inclination to do any good, yet as ſoon as they heard of it, (for they living remote eaſtward, knew nothing of the matter till all was over) came and offered their help and aſſiſtance, and did very friendly work for ſeveral days, to reſtore their habitation, and make neceſſaries for them:—And thus, in a little time, they were ſet upon their legs again.

About two days after this, they had the farther ſatisfaction of ſeeing three of the ſavages canoes come driving on ſhore, and at ſome diſtance from them, two drowned men: by which they had reaſon to believe that they had met with a ſtorm at ſea, which had overſet ſome of them; for it had blown very hard the night after they went off.

However, as ſome might miſcarry, ſo, on the other hand, enough of them eſcaped to inform the reſt, as well of what they had done, as of what had happened to them, and to whet them on to another enterprize of the ſame nature: which they, it ſeems, reſolved to attempt, with ſufficient force to carry all before them; for except what the firſt man had told them of inhabitants, they could ſay little of it of their own knowledge, for they never ſaw one man; and the fellow being killed that had affirmed it, they had no other witneſs to confirm it to them.

It was five or ſix months after this before they heard any more of the ſavages, in which time our men were in hopes they had either forgot their former bad luck, or given over hopes of better; when, on a ſudden, they were invaded with a moſt formidable fleet of no leſs than eight and twenty canoes, full of ſavages, armed with bows and arrows, great clubs, wooden ſwords, and ſuch like engines of war; and they brought ſuch numbers with them, that, in ſhort, it put all our people into the utmoſt conſternation.

As they came on ſhore in the evening, and at the eaſtermoſt ſide of the iſland, our men had that night to conſult and conſider what to do; and, in the firſt place, knowing that their being entirely concealed was their only ſafety before, and would be much more ſo now, while the number of their enemies was ſo great; they therefore reſolved, firſt of all, to take down the huts which were built for the two Engliſhmen, and drive away their goats to the old cave; becauſe they ſuppoſed the ſavages would go directly thither, as ſoon as it was day, to play the old game over again, though

though they did not now land within two leagues of it.

In the next place, they drove away all the flock of goats they had at the old bower, as I called it, which belonged to the Spaniards; and, in ſhort, left as little appearance of inhabitants any where as was poſſible; and the next morning early, they poſted themſelves, with all their force, at the plantation of the two men, to wait for their coming. As they gueſſed, ſo it happened: theſe new invaders leaving their canoes at the eaſt end of the iſland, came ranging along the ſhore, directly towards the place, to the number of two hundred and fifty, as near as our men could judge. Our army was but ſmall indeed; but that which was worſe, they had not arms for all their number neither. The whole account, it ſeems, ſtood thus; firſt, as to men:

17 Spaniards.
5 Engliſhmen.
1 Old Friday, or Friday's father.
3 The three ſlaves taken with the women, who proved very faithful.
3 other ſlaves, who lived with the Spaniards.

To arm theſe, they had

11 Muſkets.
5 Piſtols.
3 Fowling-pieces.
5 Muſkets or fowling-pieces, which were taken by me from the mutinous ſeamen whom I reduced.
2 Swords, three old halberds.

To their ſlaves they did not give either muſket or fuzee, but they had every one a halberd, or a long ſtaff, like a quarter-ſtaff, with a great ſpike of iron faſtened

into each end of it, and by his ſide a hatchet; alſo every one of our men had hatchets. Two of the women could not be prevailed upon but they would come into the fight, and they had bows and arrows, which the Spaniards had taken from the ſavages, when the firſt action happened, which I have ſpoken of, where the Indians fought with one another; and the women had hatchets too.

The Spaniard governor, whom I deſcribed ſo often, commanded the whole; and Will. Atkins, who, though a dreadful fellow for wickedneſs, was a moſt daring, bold fellow, commanded under him. The ſavages came forward like lions; and our men, which was the worſt of their fate, had no advantage in their ſituation; only that Will. Atkins, who now proved a moſt uſeful fellow, with ſix men, was planted juſt behind a ſmall thicket of buſhes, as an advanced guard, with orders to let the firſt of them paſs by, and then fire into the middle of them, and as ſoon as he had fired, to make his retreat as nimble as he could round a part of the wood, and ſo come in behind the Spaniards where they ſtood, having a thicket of trees before them.

When the ſavages came on, they ran ſtraggling about every way in heaps, out of all manner of order, and Will. Atkins let about fifty of them paſs by him; then ſeeing the reſt come in a very thick throng, he orders three of his men to fire, having loaded their muſkets with ſix or ſeven bullets a-piece, about as big as large piſtol-bullets. How many they killed or wounded they knew not, but the conſternation and ſurprize was inexpreſſible among the ſavages; they were frightened to the laſt degree to hear ſuch a dreadful noiſe, and ſee their men killed and others hurt, but ſee no-

nobody that did it; when, in the middle of their fright, Will. Atkins and his other three let fly again among the thickeſt of them; and in leſs than a minute the firſt three being loaded again, gave them a third volley.

Had Will. Atkins and his men retired immediately, as ſoon as they had fired, as they were ordered to do; or had the reſt of the body been at hand, to have poured in their ſhot continually, the ſavages had been effectually routed; for the terror that was among them came principally from this, viz. That they were killed by the gods with thunder and lightning, and could ſee nobody that hurt them; but Will. Atkins ſtaying to load again, diſcovered the cheat; ſome of the ſavages who were at a diſtance, ſpying them, came upon them behind; and though Atkins and his men fired at them alſo, two or three times, and killed above twenty, retiring as faſt as they could, yet they wounded Atkins himſelf, and killed one of his fellow Engliſhmen with their arrows, as they did afterwards one Spaniard, and one of the Indian ſlaves who came with the women. This ſlave was a moſt gallant fellow, and fought moſt deſperately, killing five of them with his own hand, having no weapon but one of the armed ſtaves and a hatchet.

Our men being thus hard laid at, Atkins wounded, and two other men killed, retreated to a riſing ground in the wood; and the Spaniards, after firing three vollies upon them, retreated alſo; for their number was ſo great, and they were ſo deſperate, that though above fifty of them were killed, and more than ſo many wounded, yet they came on in the teeth of our men, fearleſs of danger, and ſhot their arrows like a cloud; and it was obſerved, that their wounded men, who

were not quite diſabled, were made outrageous by their wounds, and fought like madmen.

When our men retreated, they left the Spaniard and the Engliſhman that was killed behind them; and the ſavages when they came up to them, killed them over again in a wretched manner, breaking their arms, legs, and heads, with their clubs and wooden ſwords, like true ſavages; but finding our men were gone, they did not ſeem to purſue them, but drew themſelves up in a ring, which is, it ſeems, their cuſtom, and ſhouted twice, in token of their victory: after which, they had the mortification to ſee ſeveral of their wounded men fall, dying with the mere loſs of blood.

The Spaniard governor having drawn his little body up together upon a riſing ground, Atkins, though he was wounded, would have had them march and charge again altogether at once: but the Spaniard replied, Seignior Atkins, you ſee how their wounded men fight, let them alone till morning; all the wounded men will be ſtiff and ſore with their wounds, and faint with the loſs of blood; and ſo we ſhall have the fewer to engage. This advice was good; but Will. Atkins replied merrily, That is true, ſeignior, and ſo ſhall I too; and that is the reaſon I would go on while I am warm. Well, Seignior Atkins, ſays the Spaniard, you have behaved gallantly, and done your part; we will fight for you, if you cannot come on; but I think it beſt to ſtay till morning: ſo they waited.

But as it was a clear moon-light night, and they found the ſavages in great diſorder about their dead and wounded men, and a great noiſe and hurry among them where they lay, they aftewards reſolved to fall upon them in the night; eſpecially, if they could come

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to give them but one volley before they were diſcovered, which they had a fair opportunity to do; for one of the two Engliſhmen, in whoſe quarter it was where the fight began, led them round between the woods and the ſea-ſide weſtward, and then turning ſhort ſouth, they came ſo near where the thickeſt of them lay, that before they were ſeen or heard, eight of them fired in among them, and did dreadful execution upon them; in half a minute more, eight others fired after them, pouring in their ſmall ſhot in ſuch a quantity, that abundance were killed and wounded; and all this while they were not able to ſee who hurt them, or which way to fly.

The Spaniards charged again with the utmoſt expedition, and then divided themſelves into three bodies, and reſolved to fall in among them altogether. They had in each body eight perſons, that is to ſay, twenty-two men, and the two women, who, by the way, fought deſperately.

They divided the fire-arms equally in each party, and ſo the halberds and ſtaves. They would have had the women kept back, but they ſaid they were reſolved to die with their huſbands. Having thus formed their little army, they marched out from among the trees, and came up to the teeth of the enemy, ſhouting and hollaing as loud as they could: the ſavages ſtood all together, but were in the utmoſt confuſion, hearing the noiſe of our men ſhouting from three quarters together: they would have fought if they had ſeen us; for as ſoon as we came near enough to be ſeen, ſome arrows were ſhot, and poor old Friday was wounded, though not dangerouſly; but our men gave them no time, but running up to them, fired among them three ways, and

then fell in with the butt-ends of their muſkets, their ſwords, armed ſtaves, and hatchets, and laid about them ſo well, that, in a word, they ſet up a diſmal ſcreaming and howling, flying to ſave their lives which way ſoever they could.

Our men were tired with the execution, and killed or mortally wounded in the two fights about 180 of them; the reſt being frightened out of their wits, ſcoured through the woods and over the hills with all the ſpeed fear and nimble feet could help them to do; and as we did not trouble ourſelves much to purſue them, they got all together to the ſea-ſide where they landed, and where their canoes lay: but their diſaſter was not at an end yet, for it blew a terrible ſtorm of wind that evening from the ſea-ward, ſo that it was impoſſible for them to go off; nay, the ſtorm continuing all night, when the tide came up, their canoes were moſt of them driven by the ſurge of the ſea ſo high upon the ſhore, that it required infinite toil to get them off; and ſome of them were even daſhed to pieces againſt the beach, or againſt one another.

Our men, though glad of their victory, yet got little reſt that night; but having refreſhed themſelves as well as they could, they reſolved to march to that part of the iſland where the ſavages were fled, and ſee what poſture they were in. This neceſſarily led them over the place where the fight had been, and where they found ſeveral of the poor creatures not quite dead, and yet paſt recovering life; a ſight diſagreeable enough to generous minds: for a truly great man, though obliged by the law of battle to deſtroy his enemy, takes no delight in his miſery.

However,

However, there was no need to give any orders in this caſe; for their own ſavages, who were their ſervants, diſpatched theſe poor creatures with their hatchets.

At length they came in view of the place where the more miſerable remains of the ſavages army lay, where there appeared about an hundred ſtill: their poſture was generally ſitting upon the ground, with their knees up towards their mouth, and the head put between the two hands, leaning down upon the knees.

When our men came within two muſket-ſhots of them, the Spaniard governor ordered two muſkets to be fired without ball, to alarm them: this he did, that by their countenance he might know what to expect, viz. whether they were ſtill in heart to fight, or were ſo heartily beaten as to be diſpirited and diſcouraged, and ſo he might manage accordingly.

This ſtratagem took; for as ſoon as the ſavages heard the firſt gun, and ſaw the flaſh of the ſecond, they ſtarted up upon their feet in the greateſt conſternation imaginable; and as our men advanced ſwiftly towards them, they all run ſcreaming and yelling away, with a kind of howling noiſe, which our men did not underſtand, and had never heard before: and thus they run up the hills into the country.

At firſt, our men had much rather the weather had been calm, and they had all gone away to ſea; but they did not then conſider that this might probably have been the occaſion of their coming again in ſuch multitudes as not to be reſiſted, or, at leaſt, to come ſo many, and ſo often, as would quite deſolate the iſland, and ſtarve them. Will. Atkins therefore, who, notwithſtanding his wound, kept always with them, proved the beſt

beſt counſellor in this caſe: his advice was to take the advantage that offered, and clap in between them and their boats, and ſo deprive them of the capacity of ever returning any more to plague the iſland.

They conſulted long about this; and ſome were againſt it, for fear of making the wretches fly to the woods and live there deſperate, and ſo they ſhould have them to hunt like wild beaſts, be afraid to ſtir out about their buſineſs, and have their plantation continually rifled, all their tame goats deſtroyed, and, in ſhort, be reduced to a life of continual diſtreſs.

Will. Atkins told them they had better have to do with an hundred men than with a hundred nations: that as they muſt deſtroy their boats, ſo they muſt deſtroy the men, or be all of them deſtroyed themſelves. In a word, he ſhewed them the neceſſity of it ſo plainly, that they all came into it; ſo they went to work immediately with the boats, and getting ſome dry wood together from a dead tree, they tried to ſet ſome of them on fire, but they were ſo wet that they would not burn; however, the fire ſo burned the upper part, that it ſoon made them unfit for ſwimming in the ſea, as boats. When the Indians ſaw what they were about, ſome of them came running out of the woods, and coming as near as they could to our men, kneeled down and cried, Oa, Oa, Waramokoa, and ſome other words of their language, which none of the others underſtood any thing of; but as they made pitiful geſtures and ſtrange noiſes, it was eaſy to underſtand they begged to have their boats ſpared, and that they would be gone, and never come there again.

But our men were now ſatisfied that they had no way to preſerve themſelves or to ſave their colony, but effectually

tually to prevent any of theſe people from ever going home again: depending upon this, that if even ſo much as one of them got back into their country to tell the ſtory, the colony was undone; ſo that letting them know that they ſhould not have any mercy, they fell to work with their canoes, and deſtroyed them every one, that the ſtorm had not deſtroyed before; at the ſight of which, the ſavages raiſed a hideous cry in the woods, which our people heard plain enough; after which they ran about the iſland like diſtracted men; ſo that, in a word, our men did not really know at firſt what to do with them.

Nor did the Spaniards, with all their prudence, conſider, that while they made thoſe people thus deſperate, they ought to have kept a good guard at the ſame time upon their plantations; for though it is true, they had driven away their cattle, and the Indians did not find out their main retreat, I mean my old caſtle at the hill, nor the cave in the valley, yet they found out my plantation at the bower, and pulled it all to pieces, and all the fences and planting about it; trod all the corn under foot, tore up the vines and grapes, being juſt then almoſt ripe, and did our men an ineſtimable damage, though to themſelves not one farthing's worth of ſervice.

Though our men were able to fight them upon all occaſions, yet they were in no condition to purſue them or hunt them up and down; for as they were too nimble of foot for our men, when they found them ſingle, ſo our men durſt not go abroad ſingle, for fear of being ſurrounded with their numbers. The beſt was, they had no weapons; for though they had bows, they had no arrows left, nor any materials to make any; nor had they any edged tool or weapon among them.

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The extremity and diſtreſs they were reduced to was great, and indeed deplorable; but at the ſame time, our men were alſo brought to very bad circumſtances by them; for though their retreats were preſerved, yet their proviſion was deſtroyed and their harveſt ſpoiled; and what to do, or which way to turn themſelves, they knew not. The only refuge they had now was the ſtock of cattle they had in the valley by the cave, and ſome little corn which grew there, and the plantation of the three Engliſhmen, Will. Atkins and his comrades, who were now reduced to two; one of them being killed by an arrow, which ſtruck him on the ſide of his head, juſt under the temples, ſo that he never ſpoke more; and it was very remarkable, that this was the ſame barbarous fellow that cut the poor ſavage ſlave with his hatchet, and who afterwards intended to have murdered the Spaniards.

I looked upon their caſe to have been worſe at this time than mine was at any time, after I firſt diſcovered the grains of barley and rice, and got into the manner of planting and raiſing my corn, and my tame cattle; for now they had, as I may ſay, an hundred wolves upon the iſland, which would devour every thing they could come at, yet could be hardly come at themſelves.

The firſt thing they concluded, when they ſaw what their circumſtances were, was, that they would, if poſſible, drive them up to the farther part of the iſland, ſouth-weſt, that if any more ſavages came on ſhore, they might not find one another: then, that they would daily hunt and haraſs them, and kill as many of them as they could come at, till they had reduced their number; and if they could at laſt tame them, and bring them

them to any thing, they would give them corn, and teach them how to plant and live upon their daily labour.

In order to this, they ſo followed them, and ſo terrified them with their guns, that in a few days, if any of them fired a gun at an Indian, if he did not hit him, yet he would fall down for fear; and ſo dreadfully frightened they were, that they kept out of ſight farther and farther; till a laſt, our men following them, and every day almoſt killing or wounding ſome of them, they kept up in the woods or hollow places ſo much, that it reduced them to the utmoſt miſery for want of food; and many were afterwards found dead in the woods, without any hurt, but merely ſtarved to death.

When our men found this, it made their hearts relent, and pity moved them, eſpecially the Spaniard governor, who was the moſt gentlemanly, generous minded man, that ever I met with in my life; and he propoſed, if poſſible, to take one of them alive, and bring him to underſtand what they meant, ſo far as to be able to act as interpreter, and go among them, and ſee if they might be brought to ſome conditions that might be depended upon, to ſave their lives and do us no ſpoil.

It was ſome while before any of them could be taken; but being weak and half-ſtarved, one of them was at laſt ſurprized and made a priſoner. He was ſullen at firſt, and would neither eat or drink; but finding himſelf kindly uſed, aud victuals given him, and no violence offered him, he at laſt grew tractable, and came to himſelf.

They brought old Friday to him, who talked often with him, and told him how kind the others would be to them all; that they would not only ſave their lives, but would give them part of the iſland to live in, provided

vided they would give ſatisfaction that they would keep in their own bounds, and not come beyond it, to injure or prejudice others; and that they ſhould have corn given them, to plant and make it grow for their bread, and ſome bread given them for their preſent ſubſiſtence: and old Friday bade the fellow go and talk with the reſt of his countrymen, and ſee what they ſaid to it; aſſuring them, that if they did not agree immediately, they ſhould be all deſtroyed.

The poor wretches, thoroughly humbled, and reduced in number to about 37, cloſed with the propoſal at the firſt offer, and begged to have ſome food given them; upon which, twelve Spaniards and two Engliſhmen, well armed, with three Indian ſlaves and old Friday, marched to the place where they were. The three Indian ſlaves carried them a large quantity of bread, ſome rice boiled up to cakes and dried in the ſun, and three live goats; and they were ordered to go to the ſide of a hill, where they ſat down, eat their proviſions very thankfully, and were the moſt faithful fellows to their words that could be thought of; for, except when they came to beg victuals and directions, they never came out of their bounds: and there they lived when I came to the iſland, and I went to ſee them.

They had taught them both to plant corn, make bread, breed tame goats and milk them: they wanted nothing but wives, and they ſoon would have been a nation. They were confined to a neck of land, ſurrounded with high rocks behind them, and lying plain towards the ſea before them, on the ſouth-eaſt corner of the iſland. They had land enough, and it was very good

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and fruitful:—They had a piece of land about a mile and half broad, and three or four miles in length.

Our men taught them to make wooden ſpades, ſuch as I made for myſelf, and gave among them twelve hatchets and three or four knives; and there they lived, the moſt ſubjected, innocent creatures, that ever were heard of.

After this, the colony enjoyed a perfect tranquillity with reſpect to the ſavages, till I came to reviſit them, which was about two years after; not but that, now and then, ſome canoes of ſavages came on ſhore for their triumphal, unnatural feaſts; but as they were of ſeveral nations, and perhaps had never heard of thoſe that came before, or the reaſon of it, they did not make any ſearch or inquiry after their countrymen; and if they had, it would have been very hard to have found them out.

Thus, I think, I have given a full account of all that happened to them, to my return, at leaſt that was worth notice. The Indians or ſavages were wonderfully civilized by them, and they frequently went among them; but forbid, on pain of death, any one of the Indians coming to them, becauſe they would not have their ſettlement betrayed again.

One thing was very remarkable, viz. that they taught the ſavages to make wicker-work, or baſkets: but they ſoon out-did their maſters; for they made abundance of moſt ingenious things in wicker-work, particularly all ſorts of baſkets, ſieves, bird-cages, cup-boards, &c. as alſo chairs to ſit on, ſtools, beds, couches, and abundance of others things; being very ingenious at ſuch work, when they were once put in the way of it.

My coming was a particular relief to theſe people, becauſe we furniſhed them with knives, ſciſſars, ſpades, ſhovels,

ſhovels, pick-axes, and all things of that kind which they could want.

With the help of thoſe tools there were ſo very handy, that they came at laſt to build up their huts, or houſes very handſomely, raddling or working it up like baſket-work all the way round; which was a very extraordinary piece of ingenuity, and looked very odd, but was an exceeding good fence, as well againſt heat as againſt all ſorts of vermin; and our men were ſo taken with it, that they got the wild ſavages to come and do the like for them; ſo that when I came to ſee the two Engliſhmen's colonies, they looked, at a diſtance, as if they lived all like bees in a hive; and as for Will. Atkins, who was now become a very induſtrious, neceſſary and ſober fellow, he had made himſelf ſuch a tent of baſket-work, as I believe was never ſeen: it was 120 paces round on the outſide, as I meaſured by my ſteps; the walls were as cloſe worked as a baſket, in pannels or ſquares of thirty-two in number, and very ſtrong, ſtanding about ſeven feet high; in the middle was another, not above twenty-two paces round, but built ſtronger, being eight-ſquare in its form, and in the eight corners ſtood eight very ſtrong poſts; round the top of which he laid ſtrong pieces pinned together with wooden pins, from which he raiſed a pyramid for a roof of eight rafters, very handſome, I aſſure you, and joined together very well, though he had no nails, and only a few iron ſpikes, which he made himſelf too, out of the old iron that I had left there; and indeed this fellow ſhewed abundance of ingenuity in ſeveral things which he had no knowledge of: he made him a forge, with a pair of wooden bellows to blow the fire; he made himſelf charcoal for his work; and he formed out of the irons crows a middling good anvil to

hammer

hammer upon: In this manner he made many things, but eſpecially hooks, ſtaples and ſpikes, bolts and hinges. But to return to the houſe: after he had pitched the roof of his innermoſt tent, he worked it up between the rafters with baſket-work, ſo firm, and thatched that over again ſo ingeniouſly with rice-ſtraw, and over that a large leaf of a tree, which covered the top, that his houſe was as dry as if it had been tiled or ſlated. Indeed he owned that the ſavages had made the baſket-work for him.

The outer circuit was covered as a lean-to, all round this inner apartment, and long rafters lay from the thirty-two angles to the top poſts of the inner houſe, being about twenty feet diſtant; ſo that there was a ſpace like a walk within the outer wicker-wall, and without the inner, near twenty feet wide.

The inner place he partitioned off with the ſame wicker-work, but much fairer, and divided it into ſix apartments, ſo that he had ſix rooms on a floor; and out of every one of theſe there was a door; firſt into the entry or coming into the main tent, and another door into the main tent, and another door into the ſpace or walk that was round it; ſo that walk was alſo divided into ſix equal parts, which ſerved not only for a retreat, but to ſtore up any neceſſaries which the family had occaſion for: theſe ſix ſpaces not taking up the whole circumference, what other apartments the outer circle had, were thus ordered:—As ſoon as you were in at the door of the outer circle, you had a ſhort paſſage ſtrait before you to the door c fthe inner houſe; but on either ſide was a wicker partition, and a door in it, by which you went firſt into a large room, or ſtore-houſe, twenty feet wide, and about thirty feet long, and through that into another,

not quite ſo long; ſo that in the outer circle were ten handſome rooms, ſix of which were only to be come at through the apartments of the inner tent, and ſerved as cloſets or retiring rooms to the reſpective chambers of the inner circle, and four large warehouſes, or barns, or what you pleaſe to call them, which went through one another, two on either hand of the paſſage, that led through the outer door to the inner tent.

Such a piece of baſket-work, I believe, was never ſeen in the world, nor a houſe or tent ſo neatly contrived, much leſs ſo built. In this great bee-hive lived the three families, that is to ſay, Will. Atkins and his companion; the third was killed, but his wife remained with three children, for ſhe was it ſeems big with child when he died:-and the other two were not at all backward to give the widow her full ſhare of every thing; I mean as to their corn, milk, grapes, &c. and when they killed a kid, or found a turtle on the ſhore; ſo that they all lived well enough; though it was true they were not ſo induſtrious as the other two, as has been obſerved already.

One thing, however, cannot be omitted, viz. that as for religion, I do not know that there was any thing of that kind among them: they often indeed, put one another in mind that there was a God, by the very common method of ſeamen, viz. ſwearing by his name: nor were their poor ignorant ſavage wives much better for having been married to Chriſtians, as we muſt call them; for as they knew very little of God themſelves, ſo they were utterly incapable of entering into any diſcourſe with their wives about a God, or to talk any thing to them concerning religion.

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The utmoſt of all the improvement which I can ſay the wives had made from them was, that they had taught them to ſpeak Engliſh pretty well, and moſt of their children, which were near twenty in all, were taught to ſpeak Engliſh too, from their firſt learning to ſpeak, though they at firſt ſpoke it in a very broken manner, like their mothers. There was none of theſe children above ſix years old when I came thither, for it was not much above ſeven years that they had fetched theſe five ſavage ladies over; but they had all been pretty fruitful, for they had all children, more or leſs; I think the cook's mate's wife was big of her ſixth child; and the mothers were all a good ſort of well-governed, quiet, laborious women, modeſt and decent, helpful to one another, mighty obſervant and ſubject to their maſters, I cannot call them huſbands; and wanted nothing but to be well inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion, and to be legally married; both which were happily brought about afterwards by my means, or at leaſt, in conſequence of my coming among them.

Having thus given an account of the colony in general, and pretty much of my five runagate Engliſh, I muſt ſay ſomething of the Spaniards, who were the main body of the family, and in whoſe ſtory there are ſome incidents alſo remarkable enough.

I had a great many diſcourſes with them about their circumſtances when they were among the ſavages. They told me readily, that they had no inſtances to give of their application or ingenuity in that country: that they were a poor, miſerable, dejected handful of people; that if means had been put into their hands, had yet ſo abandoned themſelves to deſpair, and ſo ſunk under the weight of their misfortune, that they thought

of nothing but ſtarving. One of them, a grave and ſenſible man, told me, he was convinced they were in the wrong; that it was not the part of wiſe men to give themſelves up to their miſery, but always to take hold of the helps which reaſon offered, as well for preſent ſupport as for future deliverance: he told me that grief was the moſt ſenſeleſs, inſignificant paſſion in the world, for that it regarded only things paſt, which were generally impoſſible to be recalled, or to be remedied, but had no views to things to come, and had no ſhare in any thing that looked like deliverance, but rather added to the affliction, than propoſed a remedy; and upon this he repeated a Spaniſh proverb, which though I cannot repeat in juſt the ſame words that he ſpoke it in, yet I remember I made it into an Engliſh proverb of my own, thus:

In trouble to be troubled,
Is to have your trouble doubled.

He run on then in remarks upon all the little improvements I had made in my ſolitude; my unwearied application, as he called it, and how I had made a condition, which in its circumſtances was at firſt much worſe than theirs, a thouſand times more happy than theirs was, even now when they were all together. He told me, it was remarkable that Engliſhmen had a greater preſence of mind, in their diſtreſs, than any people that ever he met with; that their unhappy nation and the Portugueſe were the worſt men in the world to ſtruggle with misfortunes; for that their firſt ſtep in dangers, after the common efforts were over, was to deſpair, lie down under it, and die, without rouſing their thoughts up to proper remedies for eſcape.

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I told him their caſe and mine differed exceedingly; that they were caſt upon the ſhore without neceſſaries, without ſupply of food or preſent ſuſtenance, till they could provide: that it is true, I had this diſadvantage and diſcomfort, that I was alone; but then the ſupplies I had providentially thrown into my hands, by the unexpected driving of the ſhip on ſhore, was ſuch a help as would have encouraged any creature in the world to have applied himſelf as I had done. Seignior, ſays the Spaniard, had we poor Spaniards been in your caſe, we ſhould never have gotten half thoſe things out of the ſhip, as you did: Nay, ſays he, we ſhould never have found means to have gotten a raft to carry them, or to have gotten the raft on ſhore without boat or ſail; and how much leſs ſhould we have done, ſaid he, if any of us had been alone? Well, I deſired him to abate his compliment, and go on with the hiſtory of their coming on ſhore, where they landed. He told me they unhappily landed at a place where there were people without proviſions; whereas had they had the common-ſenſe to have put off to ſea again, and gone to another iſland a little farther, they had found proviſions, though without people: there being an iſland that way, as they had been told, where there were proviſions, though no people: that is to ſay, that the Spaniards of Trinidad had frequently been there, and had filled the iſland with goats and hogs at ſeveral times, where they have bred in ſuch multitudes, and where turtle and ſea-fowls were in ſuch plenty, that they could have been in no want of fleſh, though they had found no bread; whereas here, they were only ſuſtained with a few roots and herbs, which they underſtood not, and which had no ſubſtance in them, and which the inhabitants gave them

ſparingly enough, and who could treat them no better, unleſs they would turn cannibals, and eat men's fleſh, which was the great dainty of their country.

They gave me an account how many ways they ſtrove to civilize the ſavages they were with, and to teach them rational cuſtoms in the ordinary way of living, but in vain; and how they retorted it upon them, as unjuſt, that they, who came there for aſſiſtance and ſupport, ſhould attempt to ſet up for inſtructors of thoſe that gave them food; intimating, it ſeems, that none ſhould ſet up for the inſtructors of others, but thoſe who could live without them.

They gave me diſmal accounts of the extremities they were driven to; how ſometimes they were many days without any food at all; the iſland they were upon being inhabited by a ſort of ſavages that lived more indolent, and for that reaſon were leſs ſupplied with the neceſſaries of life, than they had reaſon to believe others were in the ſame part of the world: and yet they found that theſe ſavages were leſs ravenous and voracious than thoſe who had better ſupplies of food.

Alſo they added, that they could not but ſee with what demonſtrations of wiſdom and goodneſs the governing providence of God directs the events of things in the world; which, they ſaid, appeared in their circumſtances: for if preſſed by the hardſhips they were under, and the barrenneſs of the country where they were, they had ſearched after a better to live in, they had then been out of the way of the relief that happened to them by my means.

They then gave me an account, how the ſavages whom they lived among, expected them to go out with them into their wars: and it was true, that as they had fire-arms

fire-arms with them, had they not the diſaſter to loſe their ammunition, they ſhould have been ſerviceable not only to their friends, but have made themſelves terrible both to friends and enemies; but being without powder and ſhot, and yet in a condition that they could not in reaſon deny to go out with their landlords to their wars, ſo when they came into the field of battle, they were in a worſe condition than the ſavages themſelves; for they had neither bows nor arrows, nor could they uſe thoſe the ſavages gave them; ſo they could do nothing but ſtand ſtill, and be wounded with arrows, 'till they came up to the teeth of their enemy; and then indeed the three halberds they had were of uſe to them; and they would often drive a whole little army before them with thoſe halberds and ſharpened ſticks put into the muzzles of their muſkets; but that for all this, they were ſometimes ſurrounded with multitudes, and in great danger from their arrows, 'till at laſt they found the way to make themſelves large targets of wood, which they covered with ſkins of wild beaſts, whoſe names they knew not; and theſe covered them from the arrows of the ſavages: that, notwithſtanding theſe, they were ſometimes in great danger, were once five of them knocked down together with the clubs of the ſavages; which was the time when one of them was taken priſoner, that is to ſay, the Spaniard whom I had relieved: that at firſt they thought he had been killed; but when they afterwards heard he was taken priſoner, they were under the greateſt grief imaginable, and would willingly have all ventured their lives to have reſcued him.

They told me, that when they were ſo knocked down, the reſt of their company reſcued them, and

ſtood over them, fighting till they were come to themſelves, all but him whom they thought had been dead; and then they made their way with their halberds and pieces, ſtanding cloſe together in a line, through a body of above a thouſand ſavages, beating down all that came in their way, got the victory over their enemies, but to their great ſorrow, becauſe it was with the loſs of their friend; whom the other party, finding him alive, carried off, with ſome others, as I gave an account in my former.

They deſcribed moſt affectionately, how they were ſurprized with joy at the return of their friend and companion in miſery, who, they thought, had been devoured by wild beaſts of the worſt kind, viz. by wild men; and yet how more and more they were ſurprized with the account he gave them of his errand, and that there was a Chriſtian in any place near, much more one that was able and had humanity enough to contribute to their deliverance.

They deſcribed, how they were aſtoniſhed at the ſight of the relief I ſent them, and at the appearance of loaves of bread, things they had not ſeen ſince their coming to that miſerable place: how often they croſſed and bleſſed it as bread ſent from Heaven; and what a reviving cordial it was to their ſpirits to taſte it, as alſo of the other things I had ſent for their ſupply: and after all, they would have told me ſomething of the joy they were in at the ſight of a boat and pilots, to carry them away to the perſon and place from whence all theſe new comforts came; but they told me it was impoſſible to expreſs it by words, for their exceſſive joy naturally driving them to unbecoming extravagancies, they had no way to deſcribe them, but by telling me

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they bordered upon lunacy, having no way to give vent to their paſſion ſuitable to the ſenſe that was upon them; that in ſome it worked one way, and in ſome another; and that ſome of them, through a ſurprize of joy, would burſt into tears, others be ſtark mad, and others immediately faint. This diſcourſe extremely affected me, and called to my mind Friday's ecſtaſy when he met his father, and the poor people's ecſtaſy when I took them up at ſea after their ſhip was on fire; the mate of the ſhip's joy when he found himſelf delivered, in the place where he expected to periſh; and my own joy, when after twenty-eight years captivity I found a good ſhip ready to carry me to my own country. All theſe things made me more ſenſible of the relation of theſe poor men, and more affected with it.

Having thus given a view of the ſtate of things as I found them, I muſt relate the heads of what I did for theſe people, and the condition in which I left them. It was their opinion, and mine too, that they would be troubled no more with the ſavages, or if they were, they would be able to cut them off, if they were twice as many as before; ſo they had no concern about that. Then I entered into a ſerious diſcourſe with the Spaniard, whom I call governor, about their ſtay in the iſland; for as I was not come to carry any of them off, ſo it would not be juſt to carry off ſome and leave others, who, perhaps, would be unwilling to ſtay if their ſtrength was diminiſhed.

On the other hand, I told them I came to eſtabliſh them there, not to remove them: and then I let them know, that I had brought with me relief of ſundry kinds for them; that I had been at a great charge to ſupply them with all things neceſſary, as well for their convenience

nience as their defence; and that I had ſuch and ſuch particular perſons with me, as well to increaſe and recruit their number, as by the particular neceſſary employments which they were bred to, being artificers, to to aſſiſt them in thoſe things in which at preſent they were to ſeek.

They were altogether when I talked thus to them; and before I delivered to them the ſtores I had brought, I aſked them, one by one, if they had entirely forgot and buried the firſt animoſities that had been among them, and would ſhake hands with one another, and engage in a ſtrict friendſhip and union of intereſt, that ſo there might be no more miſunderſtandings or jealouſies.

Will. Atkins, with abundance of frankneſs and good humour ſaid, they had met with affliction enough to make them all ſober, and enemies enough to make them all friends; that, for his part, he would live and die with them; and was ſo far from deſigning any thing againſt the Spaniards, that he owned they had done nothing to him but what his own mad humour made neceſſary, and what he would have done, and perhaps worſe, in their caſe; and that he would aſk them pardon, if I deſired it, for the fooliſh and brutiſh things he had done to them, and was very willing and deſirous of living in terms of entire friendſhip and union with them; and would do any thing that lay in his power to convince them of it; and as for going to England, he cared not if he did not go thither theſe twenty years.

The Spaniards ſaid, they had indeed at firſt diſarmed and excluded Will. Atkins and his two countrymen for their ill conduct, as they had let me know; and they appealed to me for the neceſſity they were under to do ſo; but that Will. Atkins had behaved himſelf ſo brave-

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ly in the great fight they had with the ſavages, and on ſeveral occaſions ſince, and had ſhewed himſelf ſo faithful to, and concerned for the general intereſt of them all, that they had forgotten all that was paſt, and thought he merited as much to be truſted with arms and ſupplied with neceſſaries as any of them; and they had teſtified their ſatisfaction in him, by committing the command to him, next to the governor himſelf; and as they had entire confidence in him and all his countrymen, ſo they acknowledged they had merited that confidence by all the methods that honeſt men could merit to be valued and truſted; and they moſt heartily embraced the occaſion of giving me this aſſurance, that they would never have any intereſt ſeparate from one another.

Upon theſe frank and open declarations of friendſhip, we appointed the next day to dine all together, and indeed we made a ſplendid feaſt. I cauſed the ſhip's cook and his mate to come on ſhore and dreſs our dinner, and the old cook's mate we had on ſhore aſſiſted. We brought on ſhore ſix pieces of good beef, and four pieces of pork, out of theſh ip's proviſion, with our punch-bowl, and materials to fill it; and, in particular, I gave them ten bottles of French claret, and ten bottles of Engliſh beer; things that neither the Spaniards or the Engliſh had taſted for many years, and which, it may be ſuppoſed, they were very glad of.

The Spaniards added to our feaſt five whole kids, which the cooks roaſted; and three of them were ſent, covered up cloſe, on board the ſhip to the ſeamen, that they might feaſt on freſh meat from on ſhore, as we did with their ſalt meat from on board.

After this feaſt, at which we were very innocently merry, I brought out my cargo of goods; wherein, that there

there might be no diſpute about dividing, I ſhewed them that there was ſufficient for them all, deſiring that they might all take an equal quantity of the goods that were for wearing; that is to ſay, equal when made up. As firſt, I diſtributed linen ſufficient to make every one of them four ſhirts, and, at the Spaniards requeſt, afterwards made them up ſix; theſe were exceeding comfortable to them, having been what, as I may ſay, they had long ſince forgot the uſe of, or what it was to wear them.

I allotted the thin Engliſh ſtuffs, which I mentioned before, to make every one a light coat like a frock, which I judged fitteſt for the heat of the ſeaſon, cool and looſe; and ordered, that whenever they decayed, they ſhould make more, as they thought fit; the like for pumps, ſhoes, ſtockings, hats, &c,

I cannot expreſs what pleaſure, what ſatisfaction ſat upon the countenances of all theſe poor men, when they ſaw the care I had taken of them, and how well I had furniſhed them. They told me I was a father to them; and that having ſuch a correſpondent as I was in ſo remote a part of the world, it would make them forget that they were left in a deſolate place; and they all voluntarily engaged to me, not to leave the place without my conſent.

Then I preſented to them the people I had brought with me, particularly the taylor, the ſmith, and the two carpenters, all of them moſt neceſſary people; but above all, my general artificer, than whom they could not name any thing that was more uſeful to them: and the taylor to ſhew his concern for them, went to work immediately, and, with my leave, made them every one a ſhirt, the firſt thing he did; and which was ſtill more,

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he taught the women not only how to ſew and ſtitch, and uſe the needle, but made them aſſiſt to make the ſhirts for their huſbands, and for all the reſt.

As to the carpenters, I ſcarce need mention how uſeful they were; for they took to pieces all my clumſy, unhandy things, and made them clever, convenient tables, ſtools, bed-ſteads, cup-boards, lockers, ſhelves, and every thing they wanted of that kind,

But to let them ſee how nature made artificers at firſt, I carried the carpenters to ſee Will. Atkins's baſket-houſe, as I called it; and they both owned they never ſaw an inſtance of ſuch natural ingenuity before, nor any thing ſo regular and ſo handily built, at leaſt of its kind; and one of them, when he ſaw it, after muſing a good while, turning about to me, I am ſure, ſays he, that man has no need of us; you need do nothing but give him tools.

Then I brought them out all my ſtore of tools, and gave every man a digging ſpade, a ſhovel, and a rake, for we had no harrows or ploughs; and to every ſeparate place a pick-axe, a crow, a broad-axe, and a ſaw; always appointing, that as often as any were broken or worn out, they ſhould be ſupplied, without grudging, out of the general ſtores that I left behind.

Nails, ſtaples, hinges, hammers, chiſels, knives, ſciſſars, and all ſorts of iron-work, they had without tale, as they required; for no man would take more than he wanted, and he muſt be a fool that would waſte or ſpoil them on any account whatever; and for the uſe of the ſmith, I left two tons of unwrought iron, for a ſupply.

My magazine of powder and arms which I brought them, was ſuch, even to profuſion, that they could not but

but rejoice at them; for now they could march as I uſed to do, with a muſket upon each ſhoulder, if there was occaſion, and were able to fight a thouſand ſavages, if they had but ſome little advantages of ſituation, which alſo they could not miſs of, if they had occaſion.

I carried on ſhore with me the young man whoſe mother was ſtarved to death, and the maid alſo: ſhe was a ſober, well educated, religious young woman, and behaved ſo inoffenſively, that every one gave her a good word; ſhe had indeed an unhappy life with us, there being no woman in the ſhip but herſelf, but ſhe bore it with patience. After a while, ſeeing things ſo well ordered, and in ſo fine a way of thriving upon my iſland, and conſidering that they had neither buſineſs or acquaintance in the Eaſt Indies, or reaſon for taking ſo long a voyage; I ſay, conſidering all this, both of them came to me, and deſired I would give them leave to remain on the iſland, and be entered among my family, as they called it.

I agreed to this readily; and they had a little plot of ground allotted to them, where they had three tents or houſes ſet up, ſurrounded with a baſket-work, palliſadoed like Atkins's, adjoining to his plantation. Their tents were contrived ſo that they had each of them a room apart to lodge in, and a middle tent like a great ſtore-houſe to lay their goods in, and to eat and drink in. And now the other two Engliſhmen removed their habitation to the ſame place; and ſo the iſland was divided into three colonies and no more, viz. the Spaniards with old Friday, and the firſt ſervants, at my old habitation under the hill, which was, in a word, the capital city; and where they had ſo enlarged and extended their works, as well under, as on the outſide of the

hill, that they lived, though perfectly concealed, yet full at large. Never was there ſuch a little city in a wood, and ſo hid, I believe, in any part of the world; for I verily believe, a thouſand men might have ranged the iſland a month, and if they had not known there was ſuch a thing, and looked on purpoſe for it, they would not have found it; for the trees ſtood ſo thick and ſo cloſe, and grew ſo faſt mattered into one another, that nothing but cutting them down firſt could diſcover the place, except the only two narrow entrances where they went in and out could be found, which was not very eaſy; one of them was juſt down at the water's edge on the ſide of the creek, and it was afterwards above two hundred yards to the place, and the other was up a ladder at twice, as I have already formerly deſcribed it; and they had alſo a large wood thick planted on the top of the hill, which contained above an acre, which grew apace, and covered the place from all diſcovery there, with only one narrow place between two trees, not eaſily to be diſcovered, to enter on that ſide.

The other colony was that of Will. Akins, where there were four families of Engliſhmen, I mean thoſe I had left there with their wives and children; three ſavages that were ſlaves; the widow and the children of the Engliſhman that was killed; the young man and the maid; and, by the way, we made a wife of her before we went away. There was alſo the two carpenters and the taylor, whom I brought with me for them; alſo the the ſmith, who was a very neceſſary man to them, eſpecially as a gunſmith, to take care of their arms; and my other man, whom I called Jack of all trades, who was in himſelf as good almoſt as twenty men; for he was not only a very ingenious fellow, but a very merry fellow;

low; and before I went away, we married him to the honeſt maid that came with the youth in the ſhip I mentioned before.

And now I ſpeak of marrying, it brings me naturally to ſay ſomething of the French eccleſiaſtic that I had brought with me out of the ſhip's crew whom I took up at ſea. It is true, this man was a Roman, and perhaps it may give offence to ſome hereafter, if I leave any thing extraordinary upon record of a man whom, before I begin, I muſt (to ſet him out in juſt colours) repreſent in terms very much to his diſadvantage, in the account of Proteſtants; as firſt, that he was a Papiſt; ſecondly, a Popiſh prieſt; and thirdly, a French Popiſh prieſt.

But juſtice demands of me to give him a due character; and I muſt ſay, he was a grave, ſober, pious, and moſt religious perſon; exact in his life, extenſive in his charity, and exemplary in almoſt every thing he did. What then can any one ſay againſt being very ſenſible of the value of ſuch a man, notwithſtanding his profeſſion; though it may be my opinion, perhaps, as well as the opinion of others who ſhall read this, that he was miſtaken.

The firſt hour that I began to converſe with him after he had agreed to go with me to the Eaſt-Indies, I found reaſon to delight exceedingly in his converſation; and he firſt began with me about religion in the moſt obliging manner imaginable.

Sir, ſays he, you have not only, under God, (and at that he croſſed his breaſt) ſaved my life, but you have admitted me to go this voyage in your ſhip, and by your obliging civility have taken me into your family, giving me an opportunity of free converſation. Now, Sir,

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ſays he, you ſee by my habit what my profeſſion is, and I gueſs by your nation what your's is; I may think it is my duty, and doubtleſs it is ſo, to uſe my utmoſt endeavours, on all occaſions, to bring all the ſouls I can to the knowledge of the truth, and to embrace the Catholic doctrine; but as I am here under your permiſſion, and in your family, I am bound, in juſtice to your kindneſs, as well as in decency and good manners, to be under your government, and therefore I ſhall not, without your leave, enter into any debate on the points of religion in which we may not agree, farther than you ſhall give me leave.

I told him, his carriage was ſo modeſt, that I could not but acknowledge it; that it was true we were ſuch people as they called heretics, but that he was not the firſt Catholic I had converſed with, without falling into inconveniences, or carrying the queſtions to any height in debate; that he ſhould not find himſelf the worſe uſed for being of a different opinion from us; and if we did not converſe, without any diſlike on either ſide, it ſhould be his fault, not ours.

He replied, that he thought all our converſation might be eaſily ſeparated from diſputes; that it was not his buſineſs to cap principles with every man he converſed with; and that he rather deſired me to converſe with him as a gentleman, than as a religioniſt; and that if I would give him leave at any time to diſcourſe upon religious ſubjects, he would readily comply with it; and that he did not doubt but I would allow him alſo to defend his own opinions as well as he could; but that, without my leave, he would not break in upon me with any ſuch thing.

He told me farther, that he would not ceaſe to do all that became him in his office as a prieſt, as well as a private Chriſtian, to procure the good of the ſhip, and the ſafety of all that was in her; and though perhaps we would not join with him, and he could not pray with us, he hoped he might pray for us, which he would do upon all occaſions. In this manner we converſed; and as he was of a moſt obliging, gentleman-like behaviour, ſo he was, if I may be allowed to ſay ſo, a man of good ſenſe, and, as I believe, of great learning.

He gave me a moſt diverting account of his life, and of the many extraordinary events of it; of many adventures which had befallen him in the few years that he had been abroad in the world: and particularly this was very remarkable, viz. That in the voyage he was now engaged in, he had had the misfortune to be five times ſhipped and unſhipped, and never to go to the place whither any of the ſhips he was in were at firſt deſigned. That his firſt intent was to have gone to Martinico, and that he went on board a ſhip bound thither at St. Malo; but being forced into Liſbon by bad weather, the ſhip received ſome damage by running aground in the mouth of the river Tagus, and was obliged to unload her cargo there; but finding a Portugueſe ſhip there bound to the Madeiras, and ready to ſail, and ſuppoſing he ſhould eaſily meet with a veſſel there bound to Martinico, he went on board, in order to ſail to the Madeiras: but the maſter of the Portugueſe ſhip being but an indifferent mariner, had been out of his reckoning, and they drove to Fyal; where, however, he happened to find a very good market for his cargo, which was corn, and therefore reſolved not

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to go to the Madeiras, but to load ſalt at the iſle of May, and to go away to Newfoundland. He had no remedy in this exigence but to go with the ſhip, and had a pretty good voyage as far as the Banks, (ſo they call the place where they catch the fiſh) where meeting with a French ſhip bound from France to Quebec, in the river of Canada, and from thence to Martinico, to carry proviſions, he thought he ſhould have an opportunity to compleat his firſt deſign; but when he came to Quebec, the maſter of the ſhip died, and the ſhip proceeded no farther; ſo the next voyage he ſhipped himſelf for France, in the ſhip that was burned when we took them up at ſea; and then ſhipped with us for the Eaſt Indies, as I have already ſaid. Thus he had been diſappointed in five voyages, all, as I may call it, in one voyage, beſides what I ſhall have occaſion to mention farther of the ſame perſon.

But I ſhall not make digreſſions into other men's ſtories, which have no relation to my own: I return to what concerns our affairs in the iſland. He came to me one morning, for he lodged among us all the while we were upon the iſland, and it happened to be juſt when I was going to viſit the Engliſhmen's colony, at the fartheſt part of the iſland; I ſay, he came to me, and told me, with a very grave countenance, that he had for two or three days deſired an opportunity of ſome diſcourſe with me, which he hoped would not be diſpleaſing to me, becauſe he thought it might in ſome meaſure correſpond with my general deſign, which was the proſperity of my new colony, and perhaps might put it, at leaſt more than he yet thought it was, in the way of God's bleſſing.

I looked a little ſurprized at the laſt part of his diſcourſe, and turning a little ſhort, How, Sir, ſaid I, can it be ſaid that we are not in the way of God's bleſſing after ſuch viſible aſſiſtances and wonderful deliverances as we have ſeen here, and of which I have given you a large account?

If you had pleaſed, Sir, ſaid he, with a world of modeſty, and yet with great readineſs, to have heard me, you would have found no room to have been diſpleaſed, much leſs to think ſo hard of me, that I ſhould ſuggeſt that you have not had wonderful aſſiſtances and deliverances; and I hope, on your behalf, that you are in the way of God's bleſſing, as your deſign is exceeding good, and will proſper: but, Sir, though it were more ſo than is even poſſible to you, yet there may be ſome among you that are not equally right in their actions: and you know, that in the ſtory of the children of Iſrael, one Achan in the camp, removed God's bleſſing from them, and turned his hand ſo againſt them, that ſix and thirty of them, though not concerned in the crime, were the objects of divine vengeance, and bore the weight of that puniſhment.

I was ſenſibly touched with his diſcourſe, and told him his inference was ſo juſt, and the whole deſign ſeemed ſo ſincere, and was really ſo religious in its own nature, that I was very ſorry I had interrupted him, and begged him to go on: and in the mean time, becauſe it ſeemed that what we had both to ſay might take up ſome time, I told him I was going to the Engliſhmen's plantations, and aſked him to go with me, and we might diſcourſe of it by the way. He told me he would the more willingly wait on me thither, becauſe there partly the thing was acted which he de-

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fired to ſpeak to me about: ſo we walked on, and I preſſed him to be free and plain with me in what he had to ſay.

Why then, Sir, ſays he, be pleaſed to give me leave to lay down a few propoſitions, as the foundation of what I have to ſay, that we may not differ in the general principles, though we may be of ſome differing opinions in the practice of particulars. Firſt, Sir, though we differ in ſome of the doctrinal articles of religion, and it is very unhappy it is ſo, eſpecially in the caſe before us, as I ſhall ſhew afterwards, yet there are ſome general principles in which we both agree, viz. firſt, That there is a God; and that this God having given us ſome ſtated general rules for our ſervice and obedience, we ought not willingly and knowingly to offend him, either by neglecting to do what he has commanded, or by doing what he has expreſsly forbidden: and let our different religions be what they will, this general principle is readily owned by us all, That the bleſſing of God does not ordinarily follow preſumptuous ſinning againſt his command; and every good Chriſtian will be affectionately concerned, to prevent any that are under his care living in a total neglect of God and his commands. It is not your men being Proteſtants, whatever my opinion may be of ſuch, that diſcharges me from being concerned for their ſouls, and from endeavouring, if it lies before me, that they ſhould live in as little diſtance from enmity with their Maker as poſſible, eſpecially if you give me leave to meddle ſo far in your circuit.

I could not yet imagine what he aimed at, and told him, I granted all he had ſaid, and thanked him that he would ſo far concern himſelf for us; and begged he

would explain the particulars of what he had obſerved, that, like Joſhua, to take his own parable, I might put away the accurſed thing from us.

Why then, Sir, ſays he, I will take the liberty you give me; and there are three things, which, if I am right, muſt ſtand in the way of God's bleſſing upon your endeavours here, and which I ſhould rejoice, for your ſake, and their own, to ſee removed: and, Sir, ſays he, I promiſe myſelf that you will fully agree with me in them all, as ſoon as I name them; eſpecially becauſe I ſhall convince you that every one of them may, with great eaſe, and very much to your ſatisfaction, be remedied.

He gave me no leave to put in any more civilities, but went on:—Firſt, Sir, ſays he, you have here four Engliſhmen, who have fetched women from among the ſavages, and have taken them as their wives, and have had many children by them all, and yet are not married to them after any ſtated, legal manner, as the laws of God and man require; and therefore are yet, in the ſenſe of both, no leſs than fornicators, if not living in adultery. To this, Sir, ſays he, I know you will object, that there was no clergyman or prieſt, of any kind, or of any profeſſion, to perform the ceremony; nor any pen and ink, or paper, to write down a contract of marriage, and have it ſigned between them: and I know alſo, Sir, what the Spaniard governor has told you; I mean, of the agreement that he obliged them to make when they took thoſe women, viz. That they ſhould chuſe them out by conſent, and keep ſeparately to them; which, by the way, is nothing of a marriage, no agreemnt with the women, as wives, but only an agreement

agreement among themſelves, to keep them from quarrelling.

But, Sir, the eſſence of the ſacrament of matrimony (ſo he called it, being a Roman) conſiſts not only in the mutual conſent of the parties to take one another, as man and wife, but in the formal and legal obligation that there is in the contract, to compel the man and woman, at all times, to own and acknowledge each other; obliging the man to abſtain from all other women, to engage in no other contract while theſe ſubſiſt, and, on all occaſions, as ability allows, to provide honeſtly for them and their children, and to oblige the women to the ſame or like conditions, *mutatis mutandis*, on their ſide.

Now, Sir, ſays he, theſe men may, when they pleaſe, or when occaſion preſents, abandon theſe women, diſown their children, leave them to periſh, and take other women, and marry them while theſe are living; and here he added, with ſome warmth, How, Sir, is God honoured in this unlawful liberty, and how ſhall a bleſſing ſucceed your endeavours in this place, however good in themſelves, and however ſincere in your deſign, while theſe men, who at preſent are your ſubjects, under your abſolute government and dominion, are allowed by you to live in open adultery?

I confeſs I was ſtruck with the thing itſelf, but much more with the convincing arguments he ſupported it with; for it was certainly true, that though they had no clergyman upon the ſpot, yet a formal contract on both ſides, made before witneſſes, and confirmed by any token which they had all agreed to be bound by, though it had been but breaking a ſtick between them, engaging the men to own theſe women for their wives

upon all occaſions, and never to abandon them or their children, and the women to the ſame with their huſbands, had been an effectual lawful marriage in the ſight of God; and it was a great neglect that it was not done.

But I thought to have gotten off my young prieſt by telling him, that all that part was done when I was not here; and they had lived ſo many years with them now, that if it was adultery, it was paſt remedy; they could do nothing in it now.

Sir, ſays he, aſking your pardon for ſuch freedom, you are right in this, that it being done in your abſence, you could not be charged with that part of the crime; but I beſeech you, flatter not yourſelf that you are not therefore under an obligation to do your utmoſt now to put an end to it. How can you think, but that, let the time paſt lie on whom it will, all the guilt, for the future, will lie entirely upon you? Becauſe it is certainly in your power now to put an end to it, and in nobody's power but your's.

I was ſo dull ſtill, that I did not take him right; but I imagined, that by putting an end to it, he meant that I ſhould part them, and not ſuffer them to live together any longer; and I ſaid to him, I could not do that, by any means, for that it would put the whole iſland into confuſion: he ſeemed ſurprized that I ſhould ſo far miſtake him. No, Sir, ſays he, I do not mean that you ſhould now ſeparate them, but legally and effectually marry them now; and as, Sir, my way of marrying them may not be eaſy to reconcile them to, though it will be effectual, even by your own laws, ſo your way may be as well before God, and as valid among men; I mean, by a written contract, ſigned by both

both man and woman, and by all the witneſſes preſent, which all the laws of Europe would decree to be valid.

I was amazed to ſee ſo much true piety, and ſo much ſincerity of zeal, beſides the unuſual impartiality in his diſcourſe, as to his own party or church, and ſuch true warmth for the preſerving people that he had no knowledge of or relation to, I ſay, for preſerving them from tranſgreſſing the laws of God, the like of which I had indeed not met with any where: but recollecting what he had ſaid of marrying them by a written contract, which I knew he would ſtand too, I returned it back upon him, and told him, I granted all that he had ſaid to be juſt, and on his part very kind; that I would diſcourſe with the men upon the point now, when I came to them, and I knew no reaſon why they ſhould ſcruple to let him marry them all, which I knew well enough would be granted to be as authentic and valid in England, as if they were married by one of our own clergymen; what was afterwards done in this matter, I ſhall ſpeak of by itſelf.

I then preſſed him to tell me what was the ſecond complaint which he had to make, acknowledging that I was very much his debtor for the firſt, and thanked him heartily for it. He told me, he would uſe the ſame freedom and plainneſs in the ſecond, and hoped I would take it as well; and this was, that notwithſtanding theſe Engliſh ſubjects of mine, as he called them, had lived with thoſe women for almoſt ſeven years, had taught them to ſpeak Engliſh, and even to read it; and that they were, as he perceived, women of tolerable underſtanding, and capable of inſtruction, yet they had not, to this hour, taught them any thing of the Chriſtian religion, no, not ſo much as to know that there

there was a God, or a worſhip, or in what manner God was to be ſerved, or that their own idolatry, and worſhipping they knew not whom, was falſe and abſurd. This, he ſaid, was an unaccountable neglect, and what God would certainly call them to account for, and perhaps, at laſt, take the work out of their hands: he ſpoke this very affectionately and warmly. I am perſuaded, ſays he, had thoſe men lived in the ſavage country whence their wives came, the ſavages would have taken more pains to have brought them to be idolaters, and to worſhip the devil, than any of theſe men, ſo far as he could ſee, have taken with them, to teach them the knowledge of the true God. Now, Sir, ſaid he, though I do not acknowledge your religion, or you mine, yet we would be glad to ſee the devil's ſervants, and the ſubjects of his kingdom, taught to know the general principles of the Chriſtian religion; that they might, at leaſt, hear of God and of a Redeemer, and of the reſurrection, and of a future ſtate,—things which we all believe; they had, at leaſt, been ſo much nearer coming into the boſom of the true church than they are now, in the public profeſſion of idolatry and devil-worſhip.

I could hold no longer; I took him in my arms, and embraced him with an exceſs of paſſion. How far, ſaid I, to him, have I been from underſtanding the moſt eſſential part of a Chriſtian! viz. to love the intereſt of the Chriſtian church, and the good of other men's ſouls: I ſcarce have known what belongs to the being a Chriſtian. O, Sir, do not ſay ſo, replied he; this thing is not your fault. No, ſays I; but why did I never lay it to heart as well as you? It is not too late yet, ſaid he; be not too forward to condemn yourſelf,

ſelf. But what can be done now? ſaid I: you ſee I am going away. Will you give me leave to talk with theſe poor men about it? Yes, with all my heart, ſaid I; and will oblige them to give heed to what you ſay too. As to that, ſaid he, we muſt leave them to the mercy of Chriſt; but it is your buſineſs to aſſiſt them, encourage them, and inſtruct them; and if you give me leave, and God his bleſſing, I do not doubt but the poor ignorant ſouls ſhall be brought home to the great circle of Chriſtianity, if not into the particular faith we all embrace, and that even while you ſtay here. Upon this I ſaid, I ſhall not only give you leave, but give you a thouſand thanks for it. What followed on this account, I ſhall mention alſo again in its place.

I now preſſed him for the third article in which we were to blame. Why, really, ſays he, it is of the ſame nature; and I will proceed, aſking your leave, with the ſame plainneſs as before: It is about your poor ſavages, who are, as I may ſay, your conquered ſubjects. It is a maxim, Sir, that is, or ought to be received among all Chriſtians, of what church or pretended church ſoever, viz. The Chriſtian knowledge ought to be propagated by all poſſible means, and on all poſſible occaſions. It is on this principle that our church ſends miſſionaries into Perſia, India, China; and that our clergy, even of the ſuperior ſort, willingly engage in the moſt hazardous voyages, and the moſt dangerous reſidence among murderers and barbarians, to teach them the knowledge of the true God, and to bring them over to embrace the Chriſtian faith. Now, Sir, you have ſuch an opportunity here to have ſix or ſeven and thirty poor ſavages brought over from idolatry to the knowledge of God, their Maker and Redeemer, that I wonder how you

you can paſs ſuch an occaſion of doing good, which is really worth the expence of a man's whole life.

I was now ſtruck dumb indeed, and had not one word to ſay. I had here a ſpirit of true Chriſtian zeal for God and religion before me, let his particular principles be of what kind ſoever: as for me, I had not ſo much as entertained a thought of this in my heart before, and I believe I ſhould not have thought of it; for I looked upon theſe ſavages as ſlaves, and people who, had we had any work for them to do, we would have uſed as ſuch, or would have been glad to have tranſported them to any other part of the world; for our buſineſs was to get rid of them, and we would all have been ſatisfied if they had been ſent to any country, ſo they had never ſeen their own. But to the caſe;—I ſay I was confounded at his diſcourſe, and knew not what anſwer to make him.

He looked earneſtly at me, ſeeing me in ſome diſorder; Sir, ſays he, I ſhall be very ſorry, if what I have ſaid gives you any offence: No, no, ſays I, I am offended with nobody but myſelf; but I am perfectly confounded, not only to think that I ſhould never take any notice of this before, but with reflecting what notice I am able to take of it now. You know, Sir, ſaid I, what circumſtances I am in; I am bound to the Eaſt Indies in a ſhip freighted by merchants, and to whom it would be an unſufferable piece of injuſtice to detain their ſhip here, the men lying all this while at at victuals and wages on the owners account. It is true, I agreed to be allowed twelve days here, and if I ſtay more, I muſt pay three pounds ſterling *per diem* demurrage; nor can I ſtay upon demurrage above eight days more, and I have been here thirteen already; ſo that

that I am perfectly unable to engage in this work, unleſs I would ſuffer myſelf to be left behind here again; in which caſe, if this ſingle ſhip ſhould miſcarry in any part of her voyage, I ſhould be juſt in the ſame condition that I was left in here at firſt, and from which I have been ſo wonderfully delivered. He owned the caſe was very hard upon me, as to my voyage; but laid it home upon my conſcience, whether the bleſſing of ſaving thirty-ſeven ſouls, was not worth venturing all I had in the world for: I was not ſo ſenſible of that as he was; I returned upon him thus: Why, Sir, it is a valuable thing indeed to be an inſtrument in God's hand to convert thirty-ſeven heathens to the knowledge of Chriſt; but as you are an eccleſiaſtic, and are given over to the work, ſo that it ſeems ſo naturally to fall into the way of your profeſſion, how is it then, that you do not rather offer yourſelf to undertake it, than preſs me to do it?

Upon this he faced about juſt before me, as we walked along, and putting me to a full ſtop, made me a very low bow: I moſt heartily thank God and you, Sir, ſays he, for giving me ſo evident a call to ſo bleſſed a work; and if you think yourſelf diſcharged from it, and deſire me to undertake it, I will moſt readily do it, and think it a happy reward for all the hazards and difficulties of ſuch a broken, diſappointed voyage as I have met with, that I am dropped at laſt into ſo glorious a work.

I diſcovered a kind of rapture in his face while he ſpoke this to me; his eyes ſparkled like fire, his face glowed, and his colour came and went, as if he had been falling into fits; in a word, he was fired with the joy of being embarked in ſuch a work. I pauſed a con-

conſiderable while before I could tell what to ſay to him; for I was really ſurprized to find a man of ſuch ſincerity and zeal, and carried out in his zeal beyond the ordinary rate of men, not of his profeſſion only, but even of any profeſſion whatſoever. But after I had conſidered it a while, I aſked him ſeriouſly if he was in earneſt, and that he would venture, on the ſingle conſideration of an attempt on thoſe poor people, to be locked up in an unplanted iſland for perhaps his life, and at laſt might not know whether he ſhould be able to do them good or not?

He turned ſhort upon me, and aſked me what I called a venture? Pray, Sir, ſaid he, what do you think I conſented to go in your ſhip to the Eaſt Indies for? Nay, ſaid I, that I know not, unleſs it was to preach to the Indians. Doubtleſs it was, ſaid he; and do you think if I can convert theſe thirty-ſeven men to the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, it is not worth my time, though I ſhould never be fetched off the iſland again; nay, is it not infinitely of more worth to ſave ſo many ſouls, than my life is, or the life of twenty more of the ſame profeſſion? Yes, Sir, ſays he, I would give Chriſt and the bleſſed Virgin thanks all my days, if I could be made the leaſt happy inſtrument of ſaving the ſouls of thoſe poor men, though I was never to ſet my foot off this iſland, or ſee my native country any more. But ſince you will honour me, ſays he, with putting me into this work, for which I will pray for you all the days of my life, I have one humble petition to you, ſaid he, beſides. What is that? ſaid I. Why, ſays he, it is that you will leave your man Friday with me, to be my interpreter to them, and to aſſiſt me; for without ſome help, I cannot ſpeak to them, or they to me.

I was

I was ſenſibly troubled at his requeſting Friday, becauſe I could not think of parting with him, and that for many reaſons: he had been the companion of my travels; he was not only faithful to me, but ſincerely affectionate to the laſt degree, and I had reſolved to do ſomething conſiderable for him, if he out-lived me, as it was probable he would; then I knew, that as I had bred Friday up to be a Proteſtant, it would quite confound him to bring him to embrace another profeſſion; and he would never, while his eyes were open, believe that his old maſter was a heretic and would be damned; and this might, in the end, ruin the poor fellow's principles, and ſo turn him back again to his firſt idolatry.

However, a ſudden thought relieved me in this ſtrait, and it was this: I told him, I could not ſay that I was willing to part with Friday, on any account whatever, though a work, that to him was of more value than his life, ought to be to me of much more value than the keeping or parting with a ſervant:—But, on the other hand, I was perſuaded, that Friday would by no means agree to part with me, and I could not force him to it without his conſent, without manifeſt injuſtice; becauſe I had promiſed I would never put him away, and and he had promiſed and engaged to me, that he would never leave me, unleſs I put him away.

He ſeemed very much concerned at it, for he had no rational acceſs to theſe poor people, ſeeing he did not underſtand one word of their language, nor they one word of his. To remove this difficulty, I told him Friday's father had learned Spaniſh, which I found he

alſo

alſo underſtood, and he ſhould ſerve him as an interpreter. So he was much better ſatisfied; and nothing could perſuade him but he would ſtay and endeavour to convert them; but Providence gave another very happy turn to all this.

I come back now to the firſt part of his objections. When we came to the Engliſhmen, I ſent for them all together, and after ſome account given them of what I had done for them, viz. what neceſſary things I had provided for them, and how they were diſtributed, which they were very ſenſible of, and very thankful for, I began to talk to them of the ſcandalous life they led, and gave them a full account of the notice the clergyman had taken of it; and arguing how unchriſtian and irreligious a life it was, I firſt aſked them if they were married men or bachelors? They ſoon explained their conditions to me, and ſhewed that two of them were widowers, and the other three were ſingle men, or bachelors. I aſked them with what conſcience they could take thoſe women, and lie with them as they had done, call them their wives, and have ſo many children by them, and not be lawfully married to them?

They all gave me the anſwer I expected, viz. that there was nobody to marry them; that they agreed before the governor to keep them as their wives, and to maintain them and own them as their wives; and they thought, as things ſtood with them, they were as legally married as if they had been married by a parſon, and with all the formalities in the world.

I told them, that no doubt they were married in the ſight of God, and were bound in conſcience to keep them as their wives; but that the laws of men being otherwiſe, they might deſert the poor women and children

dren hereafter; and that their wives being poor deſolate women, friendleſs and moneyleſs, would have no way to help themſelves: I therefore told them, that unleſs I was aſſured of their honeſt intent, I could do nothing for them; but would take care that what I did ſhould be for the women and children, without them; and that unleſs they would give me ſome aſſurances that they would marry the women, I could not think it was convenient they ſhould continue together as man and wife; for that it was both ſcandalous to men, and offenſive to God, who, they could not think, would bleſs them, if they went on thus.

All this went on as I expected; and they told me, eſpecially Will. Atkins, who now ſeemed to ſpeak for the reſt, that they loved their wives as well as if they had been born in their own native country, and would not leave them upon any account whatever; and they did verily believe, their wives were as virtuous and as modeſt, and did to the utmoſt of their ſkill, as much for them and for their children, as any women could poſſibly do; and they would not part with them on any account: and Will. Atkins, for his own particular, added, that if any man would take him away, and offer to carry him home to England, and make him captain of the beſt man of war in the navy, he would not go with him, if he might not carry his wife and children with him; and if there was a clergyman in the ſhip, he would be married to her now with all his heart.

This was juſt as I would have it; the prieſt was not with me at that moment, but was not far off; ſo to try him farther, I told him I had a clergyman with me, and if he was ſincere, I would have him married next morning, and bade him conſider of it, and talk with the reſt.

He ſaid, as for himſelf, he need not conſider of it at all, for he was very ready to do it, and was glad I had a miniſter with me, and he believed they would be all willing alſo. I then told him, that my friend, the miniſter, was a Frenchman, and could not ſpeak Engliſh, but I would act the clerk between them. He never ſo much as aſked me whether he was a Papiſt or Proteſtant, which was indeed what I was afraid of; but, I ſay, they never enquired about it, ſo we parted. I went back to my clergyman, and Will. Atkins went in to talk with his companions. I deſired the French gentleman not to ſay any thing to them till the buſineſs was thorough ripe; and I told him what anſwer the men had given me.

Before I went from their quarter, they all came to me, and told me they had been conſidering what I had ſaid; that they were glad to hear I had a clergyman in my company, and they were very willing to give me the ſatisfaction I deſired, and to be formally married as ſoon as I pleaſed; for they were far from deſiring to part with their wives, and that they meant nothing but what was very honeſt when they choſe them. So I appointed them to meet me the next morning, and in the mean time they ſhould let their wives know the meaning of the marriage law; and that it was not only to prevent any ſcandal, but alſo to oblige them that they ſhould not forſake them, whatever might happen.

The women were eaſily made ſenſible of the meaning of the thing, and were very well ſatisfied with it, as indeed they had reaſon to be: ſo they failed not to attend all together at my apartment next morning, where I brought out my clergyman; and though he had not on a miniſter's gown, after the manner of England, or the habit

habit of a prieſt, after the manner of France, yet having a black veſt, ſomething like a caſſock, with a ſaſh round it, he did not look very unlike a miniſter; and as for his language, I was his interpreter.

But the ſerioufneſs of his behaviour to them, and the ſcruples he made of marrying the women, becauſe they were not baptized and profeſſed Chriſtians, gave them an exceeding reverence for his perſon; and there was no need, after that, to enquire whether he was a clergyman or not.

Indeed I was afraid his ſcruple would have been carried ſo far, as that he would not have married them at all; nay, notwithſtanding all I was able to ſay to him, he reſiſted me, though modeſtly, yet very ſteadily; and at laſt refuſed abſolutely to marry them, unleſs he had firſt talked with the men and the women too; and though at firſt I was a little backward to it, yet at laſt I agreed to it with a good will, perceiving the ſincerity of his deſign.

When he came to them, he let them know that I had acquainted him with their circumſtances, and with the preſent deſign; that he was very willing to perform that part of his function, and marry them as I had deſired; but that before he could do it, he muſt take the liberty to talk with them. He told them, that in the ſight of all indifferent men, and in the ſenſe of the laws of ſociety, they had lived all this while in open fornication; and that it was true, that nothing but the conſenting to marry, or effectually ſeparating them from one another, could now put an end to it; but there was a difficulty in it too, with reſpect to the laws of Chriſtian matrimony, which he was not fully ſatisfied about, viz. that of marrying one that is a profeſſed Chriſtian

to a ſavage, an idolater and a heathen, one that is not baptized; and yet that he did not ſee that there was time left for to endeavour to perſuade the women to be baptized, or to profeſs the name of Chriſt, whom they had, he doubted, heard nothing of, and without which they could not be baptized.

He told them, he doubted they were but indifferent Chriſtians themſelves; that they had but little knowledge of God or of his ways, and therefore he could not expect that they had ſaid much to their wives on that head yet; but that unleſs they would promiſe him, to uſe their endeavours with their wives to perſuade them to become Chriſtians, and would, as well as they could, inſtruct them in the knowledge and belief of God, that made them, and to worſhip Jeſus Chriſt, that redeemed them, he could not marry them; for he would have no hand in joining Chriſtians with ſavages; nor was it conſiſtent with the principles of the Chriſtian religion, and was indeed expreſsly forbidden in God's law.

They heard all this very attentively, and I delivered it very faithfully to them from his mouth, as near his own words as I could; only ſometimes adding ſomething of my own, to convince them how juſt it was, and how I was of his mind; and I always very faithfully diſtinguiſhed between what I ſaid from myſelf, and what were the clergyman's words. They told me it was very true what the gentleman ſaid, that they were very indifferent Chriſtians themſelves, and that they had never talked to their wives about religion. Lord, Sir, ſays Will. Atkins, how ſhould we teach them religion? why we know nothing ourſelves; and beſides, Sir, ſaid he, ſhould we talk to them of God and Jeſus Chriſt, and heaven and hell, it would make them laugh at us,

and

and aſk us, what we believe ourſelves? And if we ſhould tell them that we believe all the things we ſpeak of to them, ſuch as of good people going to heaven, and wicked people to the devil, they would aſk us, where we intend to go ourſelves that believe all this, and are ſuch wicked fellows, as we indeed are? Why, Sir, 'tis enough to give them a ſurfeit of religion at firſt hearing; folks muſt have ſome religion themſelves, before they pretend to teach other people. Will. Atkins, ſaid I to him, though I am afraid that what you ſay has too much truth in it, yet can you not tell your wife ſhe is in the wrong? That there is a God, and a religion better than her own; that her gods are idols; that they can neither hear nor ſpeak; that there is a great Being that made all things, and that can deſtroy all that he had made; that he rewards the good and puniſhes the bad; and that we are to be judged by him at laſt for all we do here: you are not ſo ignorant, but even nature itſelf will teach you that all this is true; and I am ſatisfied you know it all to be true, and believe it yourſelf.

That is true, Sir, ſaid Atkins; but with what face can I ſay any thing to my wife of all this, when ſhe will tell me immediately it cannot be true.

Not true, ſaid I, what do you mean by that? Why, Sir, ſaid he, ſhe will tell me it cannot be true that this God I ſhall tell her of can be juſt, or can puniſh or reward, ſince I am not puniſhed and ſent to the devil, that have been ſuch a wicked creature as ſhe knows I have been, even to her, and to every-body elſe; and that I ſhould be ſuffered to live, that have been always acting ſo contrary to what I muſt tell her is good, and to what I ought to have done.

Why, truly, Atkins, ſaid I, I am afraid thou ſpeakeſt too much truth; and with that I informed the clergyman of what Atkins had ſaid, for he was impatient to know. O, ſaid the prieſt, tell him there is one thing will make him the beſt miniſter in the world to his wife, and that is, repentance; for none teach repentance like true penitents. He wants nothing but to repent, and then he will be ſo much the better qualified to inſtruct his wife; he will be then able to tell her, that there is not only a God, and that he is the juſt rewarder of good and evil, but that he is a merciful Being, and with infinite goodneſs and long-ſuffering forbears to puniſh thoſe that offend, waiting to be gracious, and willing not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould return and live; that oftentimes he ſuffers wicked men to go a long time, and even reſerves damnation to the general day of retribution; that it is a clear evidence of God and of a future ſtate, that righteous men receive not their reward, or wicked men their puniſhment till they come into another world; and this will lead him to teach his wife the doctrine of the reſurrection and of the laſt judgment. Let him but repent for himſelf, he will be an excellent preacher of repentance to his wife.

I repeated all this to Atkins, who looked very ſerious all the while, and who, we could eaſily perceive, was more than ordinarily affected with it: when being eager, and hardly ſuffering me to make an end, I know all this, maſter, ſays he, and a great deal more; but I have not the impudence to talk thus to my wife, when God and my conſcience knows, and my wife will be an undeniable evidence againſt me, that I have lived as if I had never heard of a God or future ſtate, or any thing

thing about it; and to talk of my repenting, alas! (and with that he fetched a deep ſigh, and I could ſee that the tears ſtood in his eyes) 'tis paſt all that with me. Paſt it! Atkins, ſaid I; what doſt thou mean by that? I know well enough what I mean, ſays he; I mean 'tis too late, and that is too true.

I told the clergyman, word for word, what he ſaid: the poor zealous prieſt,—I muſt call him ſo, for be his opinion what it will, he had certainly a moſt ſingular affection for the good of other men's ſouls, and it would be hard to think he had not the like for his own—I ſay, this affectionate man could not refrain tears alſo; but, recovering himſelf, he ſaid to me, Aſk him but one queſtion; is he eaſy that it is too late, or his he troubled, and wiſhes it were not ſo? I put the queſtion fairly to Atkins; and he anſwered with a great deal of paſſion, how could any man be eaſy in a condition that muſt certainly end in eternal deſtruction? That he was far from being eaſy; but that, on the contrary, he believed it would, one time or other, ruin him.

What do you mean by that? ſaid I. Why, he ſaid, he believed he ſhould one time or other cut his throat, to put an end to the terror of it.

The clergyman ſhook his head, with great concern in his face, when I told him all this; but turning quick to me upon it, ſays he, if that be his caſe, we may aſſure him it is not too late; Chriſt will give him repentance. But, pray, ſays he, explain this to him; that as no man is ſaved but by Chriſt, and the merit of his paſſion procuring divine mercy for him, how can it be too late for any man to receive mercy? Does he think he is able to ſin beyond the power or reach of divine

mercy Pray tell him, there may be a time when provoked mercy will no longer ſtrive, and when God may refuſe to hear, but that 'tis never too late for men to aſk mercy; and we, that are Chriſt's ſervants, are commanded to preach mercy at all times, in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, to all thoſe that ſincerely repent; ſo that it is never too late to repent.

I told Atkins all this, and he heard me with great earneſtneſs; but it ſeemed as if he turned off the diſcourſe to the reſt, for he ſaid to me, he would go and have ſome talk with his wife; ſo he went out a while, and we talked to the reſt. I perceived they were all ſtupidly ignorant as to matters of religion, as much as I was when I went rambling away from my father; and yet that there were none of them backward to hear what had been ſaid; and all of them ſeriouſly promiſed that they would talk with their wives about it, and do their endeavour to perſuade them to turn Chriſtians.

The clergyman ſmiled upon me when I reported what anſwer they gave, but ſaid nothing a good while; but at laſt ſhaking his head, We that are Chriſt's ſervants, ſays he, can go no farther than to exhort and inſtruct, and when men comply, ſubmit to the reproof, and promiſe what we aſk, 'tis all we can do; we are bound to accept their good words: but, believe me, Sir, ſaid he, whatever you may have known of the life of that man you call Will. Atkins, I believe he is the only ſincere convert among them; I take that man to be a true penitent; I won't deſpair of the reſt; but that man is apparently ſtruck with the ſenſe of his paſt life, and I doubt not, when he comes to talk of religion to his wife, he will talk himſelf effectually into it; for attempting to teach others, is ſometimes the beſt way of teaching ourſelves, I know a man, who having

ing nothing but a ſummary notion of religion himſelf, and being wicked and profligate to the laſt degree in his life, made a thorough reformation in himſelf by labouring to convert a Jew. If that poor Atkins begins but once to talk ſeriouſly of Jeſus Chriſt to his wife, my life for it, he talks himſelf into a thorough convert, makes himſelf a penitent, and who knows what may follow?

Upon this diſcourſe, however, and their promiſing, as above, to endeavour to perſuade their wives to embrace Chriſtianity, he married the other two couple; but Will. Atkins and his wife were not yet come in. After this, my clergyman waiting a while, was curious to know where Atkins was gone; and turning to me, ſays he, I intreat you, Sir, let us walk out of your labyrinth here, and look; I dare ſay we ſhall find this poor man ſomewhere or other talking ſeriouſly to his wife, and teaching her already ſomething of religion. I began to be of the ſame mind; ſo we went out together, and I carried him a way which none knew but myſelf, and where the trees where ſo thick ſet as that it was not eaſy to ſee through the thicket of leaves, and far harder to ſee in, than to ſee out; when coming to the edge of the wood, I ſaw Atkins and his tawny ſavage wife ſitting under the ſhade of a buſh, very eager in diſcourſe: I ſtopped ſhort till my clerygman came up to me, and then having ſhewed him where they were, we ſtood and looked very ſteadily at them a good while. We obſerved him very earneſt with her, pointing up to the ſun, and to every quarter of the heavens, and then down to the earth, then out to the ſea, then to himſelf, then to her, to the woods, to the trees. Now, ſays my clergyman, you ſee my words are made good, the man preaches to her; mark him now, he is telling her that our God has made him

and

and her, and the heavens, the earth, the ſea, the woods, the trees, &c. I believe he is, ſaid I. Immediately we perceived Will. Atkins ſtart upon his feet, fall down on his knees, and lift up both his hands: We ſuppoſed he ſaid ſomething, but we could not hear him; it was too far for that. He did not continue kneeling half a minute, but comes and ſits down again by his wife, and talks to her again; we perceived then the woman very attentive, but whether ſhe ſaid any thing or no, we could not tell. While the poor fellow was upon his knees, I could ſee the tears run plentifully down my clergyman's cheeks, and I could hardly forbear myſelf; but it was a great affliction to us both, that we were not near enough to hear any thing that paſſed between them.

Well, however, we could come no nearer, for fear of diſturbing them; ſo we reſolved to ſee an end of this piece of ſtill converſation, and it ſpoke loud enough to us, without the help of voice. He ſat down again, as I have ſaid, cloſe by her, and talking again earneſtly to her, and two or three times we could ſee him embrace her moſt paſſionately; another time we ſaw him take out his handkerchief and wipe her eyes, and then kiſs her again, with a kind of tranſport very unuſual; and after ſeveral of theſe things, we ſaw him on a ſudden jump up again, and lend her his hand, to help her up, when immediately leading her by the hand a ſtep or two, they both kneeled down together, and continued ſo about two minutes.

My friend could bear it no longer, but cries out aloud,—St. Paul! St. Paul! behold he prayeth: I was afraid Atkins would hear him, therefore I entreated him to withhold himſelf a while, that we might ſee an end of the ſcene, which to me, I muſt confeſs, was

the

the moſt affecting that ever I ſaw in my life. Well, he ſtrove with himſelf for a while, but was in ſuch raptures to think that the poor heathen woman was become a Chriſtian, that he was not able to contain himſelf; he wept ſeveral times, then throwing up his hands and croſſing his breaſt, ſaid over ſeveral things ejaculatory, and by way of giving God thanks for ſo miraculous a teſtimony of the ſucceſs of our endeavours; ſome he ſpoke ſoftly, and I could not well hear others; ſome in Latin, ſome in French; then two or three times the tears would interrupt him, that he could not ſpeak at all; but I begged that he would contain himſelf, and let us more narrowly and fully obſerve what was before us, which he did for a time, the ſcene not being ended there yet; for after the poor man and his wife were riſen again from their knees, we obſerved he ſtood talking ſtill eagerly to her, and we obſerved her motion, that ſhe was greatly affected with what he ſaid, by her frequent lifting up her hands, laying her hand to her breaſt, and ſuch other poſtures as expreſs the greateſt ſerioufneſs and attention; this continued about half a quarter of an hour, and then they walked away; ſo we could ſee no more of them in that ſituation. I took this interval to talk with my clergyman; and firſt I was glad to ſee the particulars we had both been witneſſes to, that, though I was hard enough of belief in ſuch caſes, yet that I began to think it was all very ſincere here, both in the man and his wife, however ignorant they might both be, and I hoped ſuch a beginning would have yet a more happy end: and who knows, ſaid I, but theſe two may, in time, by inſtruction and example, work upon ſome of the others? Some of them, ſaid he, turning quick upon me; aye, upon all of them:

them: depend upon it, if thoſe two ſavages, for he has been but little better, as you relate it, ſhould embrace Jeſus Chriſt, they will never leave it till they work upon all the reſt; for true religion is naturally communicative, and he that is once made a Chriſtian will never leave a Pagan behind him, if he can help it. I owned it was a moſt Chriſtian principle to think ſo, and a teſtimony of a true zeal, as well as a generous heart in him. But, my friend, ſaid I, will you give me leave to ſtart one difficulty here? I cannot tell how to object the leaſt thing againſt that affectionate concern which you ſhew for the turning the poor people from their Paganiſm to the Chriſtian religion: But how does this comfort you, while theſe people are, in your account, out of the pale of the catholic church, without which you believe there is no ſalvation? ſo that you eſteem theſe but heretics, for other reaſons as effectually loſt as the pagans themſelves.

To this he anſwered, with abundance of candour, thus: Sir, I am a catholic of the Roman church, and a prieſt of the order of St. Benedict, and I embrace all the principles of the Roman faith? but yet, if you will believe me, and that I do not ſpeak in compliment to you, or in reſpect to my circumſtances, and your civilities; I ſay, nevertheleſs, I do not look upon you, who call yourſelves reformed, without ſome charity: I dare not ſay (though I know it is our opinion in general) that you cannot be ſaved; I will by no means limit the mercy of Chriſt ſo far as to think that he cannot receive you into the boſom of his church, in a manner to us unperceivable; and I hope you have the ſame charity for us: I pray daily for your being all reſtored to Chriſt's church, by whatſoever methods He, who is all-wiſe, is

pleaſed

pleaſed to direct: in the mean time, ſure you will allow it conſiſts with me, as a Roman, to diſtinguiſh far between a Proteſtant and a Pagan; between one that calls on Jeſus Chriſt, though in a way which I do not think is according to the true faith, and a ſavage or a barbarian, that knows no God, no Chriſt, no Redeemer; and if you are not within the pale of the catholic church, we hope you are nearer being reſtored to it, than thoſe that know nothing of God or of his church; and I rejoice therefore, when I ſee this poor man, whom you ſay has been a profligate, and almoſt a murderer, kneel down and pray to Jeſus Chriſt, as we ſuppoſe he did, though not fully enlightened; believing that God, from whom every ſuch work proceeds, will ſenſibly touch his heart, and bring him to the farther knowledge of that truth in his own time; and if God ſhall influence this poor man, to convert and inſtruct the ignorant ſavage, his wife, I can never believe that he ſhall be caſt-away himſelf: and have I not reaſon then to rejoice, the nearer any are brought to the knowledge of Chriſt, though they may not be brought quite home into the boſom of the catholic church, juſt at the time when I may deſire it; leaving it to the goodneſs of Chriſt to perfect his work in his own time, and in his own way. Certainly, I would rejoice if all the ſavages in America were brought like this poor woman, to pray to God, though they were all to be Proteſtants at firſt, rather than they ſhould continue Pagans or Heathens; firmly believing, that He that had beſtowed the firſt light to them, would farther illuminate them with a beam of his heavenly grace, and bring them into the pale of his church, when he ſhould ſee good.

I was aſtoniſhed at the ſincerity and temper of this pious Papiſt, as much as I was oppreſſed by the power of his reaſoning; and it preſently occurred to my thoughts, that if ſuch a temper was univerſal, we might be all catholic Chriſtians, whatever church or particular profeſſion we joined in; that a ſpirit of charity would ſoon work us all up into right principles; and, as he thought that the like charity would make us all Catholics, ſo I told him I believed, had all the members of his church the like moderation, they would ſoon be all Proteſtants:—And there we left that part; for we never diſputed at all.

However, I talked to him another way, and taking him by the hand, My friend, ſays I, I wiſh all the clergy of the Roman church were bleſt with ſuch moderation, and had an equal ſhare of your charity. I am entirely of your opinion: but I muſt tell you, that if you ſhould preach ſuch doctrine in Spain or Italy, they would put you into the Inquiſition.

It may be ſo, ſaid he; I know not what they would do in Spain or Italy; but I will not ſay they would be the better Chriſtians for that ſeverity; for I am ſure there is no hereſy in abounding with charity.

Well, as Will. Atkins and his wife were gone, our buſineſs there was over, ſo we went back our own way; and when we came back, we found them waiting to be called in: obſerving this, I aſked my clergyman if we ſhould diſcover to him that we had ſeen him under the buſh, or not; and it was his opinion we ſhould not, but that we ſhould talk to him firſt, and hear what he would ſay to us: ſo we called him in alone, nobody being in the place but ourſelves; and I began with him thus:

Will.

Will. Atkins, ſaid I, prithee what education had you? What was your father?

W. A. A better man than ever I ſhall be: Sir, my father was a clergyman.

R. C. What education did he give you?

W. A. He would have taught me well, Sir; but I deſpiſed all education, inſtruction, or correction, like a beaſt, as I was.

R. C. It is true, Solomon ſays, He that deſpiſes reproof is brutiſh.

W. A. Aye, Sir, I was brutiſh indeed, for I murdered my father: for God's ſake, Sir, talk no more about that; Sir, I murdered my poor father.

Pr. Ha! a murderer!

Here the prieſt ſtarted (for I interpreted every word as he ſpoke) and looked pale: it ſeems he believed that Will. had really killed his father.

R. C. No, no, Sir; I do not underſtand him ſo: Will. Atkins explain yourſelf; you did not kill your father, did you, with your own hands?

W. A. No, Sir, I did not cut his throat; but I cut the thread of all his comforts, and ſhortened his days: I broke his heart by the moſt ungrateful, unnatural return, for the moſt tender, affectionate treatment that ever father gave, or child could receive.

R. C. Well, I did not aſk you about your father, to extort this confeſſion: I pray God give you repentance for it, and forgive you that and all your other ſins; but I aſked you becauſe I ſee that, though you have not much learning, yet you are not ſo ignorant as ſome are in things that are good; that you have known more of religion, a great deal, than you have practiſed.

W. A.

W. A. Though you, Sir, did not extort the confeſſion that I make about my father, conſcience does; and whenever we come to look back upon our lives, the ſins againſt our indulgent parents are certainly the firſt that touch us; the wounds they make lie deepeſt, and the weight they leave will lie heavieſt upon the mind, of all the ſins we can commit.

R. C. You talk too feelingly and ſenſibly for me, Atkins; I cannot bear it.

W. A. You bear it, Maſter! I dare ſay you know nothing of it.

R. C. Yes, Atkins; every ſhore, every hill, nay, I may ſay every tree in this iſland, is witneſs to the anguiſh of my ſoul for my ingratitude and bad uſage of a good, tender father; a father much like your's, by your deſcription; and I murdered my father as well as you, Will. Atkins; but I think, for all that, my repentance is ſhort of your's too, by a great deal.

I would have ſaid more, if I could have reſtrained my paſſions; but I thought this poor man's repentance was ſo much ſincerer than mine, that I was going to leave off the diſcourſe and retire; for I was ſurprized with what he had ſaid, and thought, that inſtead of my going about to teach and inſtruct him, the man was made a teacher and inſtructor to me, in a moſt ſurprizing and unexpected manner.

I laid all this before the young clergyman, who was greatly affected with it, and ſaid to me,—Did I not ſay, Sir, that when this man was converted, he would preach to us all! I tell you, Sir, if this one man be made a true penitent, here will be no need of me; he will make Chriſtians of all in the iſland:—But having a little compoſed myſelf, I renewed my diſcourſe with Will. Atkins.

But,

But Will. ſaid I, how comes the ſenſe of this matter to touch you juſt now?

W. A. Sir, you have ſet me about a work that has ſtruck a dart through my very ſoul; I have been talking about God and religion to my wife, in order, as you directed me, to make a Chriſtian of her; and ſhe has preached ſuch a ſermon to me, as I ſhall never forget while I live.

R. C. No, no, it is not your wife has preached to you; but when you were moving religious arguments to her, conſcience has flung them back upon you.

W. A. Aye, Sir, with ſuch force as is not to be reſiſted.

R. C. Pray Will. let us know what paſſed between you and your wife; for I know ſomething of it already.

W. A. Sir, it is impoſſible to give you a full account of it; I am too full to hold it, and yet have no tongue to expreſs it; but let her have ſaid what ſhe will, and though I cannot give you an account of it, this I can tell you of it, that I reſolve to amend and reform my life.

R. C. But tell us ſome of it: how did you begin, Will.? For this has been an extraordinary caſe, that's certain. She has preached a ſermon indeed, if ſhe has wrought this upon you.

W. A. Why, I firſt told her the nature of our laws about marriage, and what the reaſons were that men and women were obliged to enter into ſuch compacts, as it was neither in the power of one or other to break; that otherwiſe, order and juſtice could not be maintained, and men would run from their wives, and abandon their children, mix confuſedly with one another, and

neither families be kept entire, nor inheritances be ſettled by legal deſcent,

R. C. You talk like a civilian, Will.; could you make her underſtand what you meant by inheritance and families? They know no ſuch things among the ſavages, but marry any how, without regard to relation, conſanguinity, or family; brother and ſiſter; nay, as I have been told, even the father and the daughter, and the ſon and the mother.

W. A. I believe, Sir, you are miſinformed, and my wife aſſures me of the contrary, and that they abhor it; perhaps, for any farther relations, they may not be ſo exact as we are; but ſhe tells me they never touch one another in the near relations you ſpeak of.

R. C. Well, what did ſhe ſay to what you told her?

W. A. She ſaid ſhe liked it very well, and it was much better than in her country.

R. C. But did you tell her what marriage was?

W. A. Aye, aye; there began our dialogue. I aſked her if ſhe would be married to me our way? She aſked me what way that was? I told her marriage was appointed by God: and here we had a ſtrange talk together indeed, as ever man and wife had, I believe.

N. B. This dialogue between Will. Atkins and his wife, I took down in writing, juſt after he told it me, which was as follows:

Wife. Appointed by your God! Why, have you a God in your country?

W. A. Yes, my dear, God is in every country.

Wife. No your God in my country; my country have the great, old Benamuckee God.

W. A. Child, I am very unfit to ſhew you who God is; God is in heaven, and made the heaven and the earth, the ſea, and all that in them is.

Wife

Wife. No makee de earth; no you God make all earth; no makee my country.

Will. Atkins laughed a little at her expreſſion of God not making her country.

Wife. No laugh; why laugh me? This nothing to laugh.

He was juſtly reproved by his wife, for ſhe was more ſerious than he at firſt.

W. A. That's true indeed; I will not laugh any more, my dear.

Wife. Why you ſay you God makee all?

W. A. Yes, child, our God made the whole world, and you and me, and all things; for he is the only true God, and there is no God but him; he lives for ever in heaven.

Wife. Why you no tell me long ago?

W. A. That's true, indeed; but I have been a wicked wretch, and have not only forgotten to acquaint thee with any thing before, but have lived without God in the world myſelf.

Wife. What, have you a great God in your country, you no know him? No ſay O to him? No do good thing for him? That no poſſible?

W. A. It is too true; though for all that, we live as if there was no God in heaven, or that he had no power on earth.

Wife. But why God let you do ſo? Why he no makee you good live?

W. A. It is all our own fault.

Wife. But you ſay me he is great, much great, have much great power, can makee kill when he will, why he no makee kill when you no ſerve him? No ſay O to him, no be good mans?

W. A. That is true, he might ſtrike me dead; and I ought to expect it, for I have been a wicked wretch, that is true; but God is merciful, and does not deal with us as we deſerve.

Wife. But then do you not tell God thankee for that too?

W. A. No, indeed I have not thanked God for his mercy, any more than I have feared God for his power.

Wife. Then you God no God; me no think believe he be ſuch one, great much power, ſtrong; no makee kill you, though you make him much angry.

W. A. What, will my wicked life hinder you from believing in God? What a dreadful creature am I! and what a ſad truth is it, that the horrid lives of Chriſtians hinders the converſion of heathens!

Wife. How me think you have great much God up there (ſhe points up to heaven), and yet no do well, no do good thing? Can he tell? Sure he no tell what you do?

W. A. Yes, yes, he knows and ſees all things; he hears us ſpeak, ſees what we do, knows what we think, though we do not ſpeak.

Wife. What! he no hear you curſe, ſwear, ſpeak de great damn?

W. A. Yes, yes; he hears it all.

Wife. Where be den de muchee great power ſtrong?

W. A. He is merciful, that is all we can ſay for it; and this proves him to be the true God; he is God and not man; and therefore we are not conſumed.

Here Will. Atkins told us he was ſtruck with horror, to think how he could tell his wife ſo clearly that God ſees, and hears, and knows the ſecret thoughts of

of the heart, and all that we do, and yet that he had dared to do all the vile things he had done.

Wife. Merciful! What you call that?

W. A. He is our father and maker, and he pities and ſpares us.

Wife. So then he never makee kill, never angry when you do wicked; then he no good himſelf, or no great able.

W. A. Yes, yes, my dear, he is infinitely good and infinitely great, and able to puniſh too; and ſometimes, to ſhew his juſtice and vengeance, he lets fly his anger to deſtroy ſinners and make examples; many are cut off in their ſins.

Wife. But no makee kill you yet; then he tell you, may be, that he no makee you kill; ſo you makee de bargain with him, you do bad thing, he no be angry at you when he be angry at other mans.

W. A. No indeed; my ſins are all preſumptions upon his goodneſs; and he would be infinitely juſt if he deſtroyed me, as he has done other men.

Wife. Well, and yet no kill, no makee you dead; what you ſay to him for that? You no tell him thankee for all that too?

W. A. I am an unthankful, ungrateful dog, that is true.

Wife. Why he no makee you much good better? You ſay he makee you.

W. A. He made me, as he made all the world; it is I have deformed myſelf and abuſed his goodneſs, and made myſelf an abominable wretch.

Wife. I wiſh you makee God know me; I no makee him angry, I no do bad, wicked thing.

Here Will. Atkins ſaid his heart ſunk within him, to hear a poor untaught creature deſire to be taught to know God, and he ſuch a wicked wretch that he could not ſay one word to her about God, but what the reproach of his own carriage would make moſt irrational to her to believe; nay, that already ſhe had told him, that ſhe could not believe in God, becauſe he, that was ſo wicked, was not deſtroyed.

W. A. My dear, you mean, you wiſh I could teach you to know God, not God to know you; for he knows you already, and every thought in your heart.

Wife. Why then he know what I ſay to you now; he know me wiſh to know him: how ſhall me know who makee me?

W. A. Poor creature! he muſt teach thee, I cannot teach thee; I will pray to him to teach thee to know him, and forgive me, that am unworthy to teach thee.

The poor fellow was in ſuch an agony at her deſiring him to make her know God, and her wiſhing to know him, that he ſaid, he fell down on his knees before her, and prayed to God to enlighten her mind with the ſaving knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt, and to pardon his ſins, and accept of his being the unworthy inſtrument of inſtructing her in the principles of religion: after which he ſat down by her again, and their dialogue went on.

N. B. This was the time when we ſaw him kneel down, and hold up his hands.

Wife. What you put down the knee for? What you hold up the hand for? What you ſay? Who you ſpeak to? What is all that?

W. A. My dear, I bow my knees in token of my ſubmiſſion to him that made me; I ſaid O to him, as you call it, and as you ſay, your old men do to their idol Benamuckee; that is, I prayed to him.

Wife

Wife. What you ſay O to him for?

W. A. I prayed to him to open your eyes, and your underſtanding, that you may know him, and be accepted by him.

Wife. Can he do that too?

W. A. Yes, he can; he can do all things.

Wife. But now he hear what you ſay?

W. A. Yes; he has bid us pray to him, and promiſed to hear us.

Wife. Bid you pray? When he bid you? How he bid you? What, you hear him ſpeak?

W. A. No, we do not hear him ſpeak; but he has revealed himſelf many ways to us.

Here he was at a great loſs to make her underſtand that God has revealed himſelf to us by his word, and what his word was; but at laſt he told it her thus:

W. A. God has ſpoken to ſome good men in former days, even from heaven, by plain words; and God has inſpired good men by his Spirit; and they have written all his laws down in a book.

Wife. Me no underſtand that; where is book?

W. A. Alas! my poor creature, I have not this book; but I hope I ſhall one time or other get it for you, and help you to read it.

Here he embraced her with great affection; but with inexpreſſible grief, that he had not a bible.

Wife. But how you makee me know that God teachee them to write that book?

W. A. By the ſame rule that we know him to be God.

Wife. What rule? What way you know him?

W. A. Becauſe he teaches and commands nothing but what is good, righteous, and holy, and tends to

make us perfectly good, as well as perfectly happy; and becauſe he forbids and commands us to avoid all that is wicked, that is evil in itſelf, or evil in its conſequence.

Wife. That me would underſtand, that me fain ſee: if he teachee all good thing, he makee all good thing, he give all thing, he hear me when I ſay O to him, as you go do juſt now; he makee me good, if I wiſh be good; he ſpare me, no makee kill me, when I no be good: all this you ſay he do, yet he be great God; me take, think, believe him to be great God: me ſay O to him with you, my dear.

Here the poor man could forbear no longer, but raiſed her up, made her kneel by him, and he prayed to God aloud to inſtruct her in the knowledge of himſelf by his Spirit, and that by ſome good providence, if poſſible, ſhe might ſome time or other come to have a bible, that ſhe might read the word of God, and be taught by it to know him. This was the time that we ſaw him lift her up by the hand, and ſaw him kneel down by her, as above.

They had ſeveral other diſcourſes it ſeems, after this, too long to be ſet down here; and particularly ſhe made him promiſe, that ſince he confeſſed his own life had been a wicked, abominable courſe of provocations againſt God, that he would reform it, and not make God angry any more; leaſt he ſhould make him dead, as ſhe called it, and then ſhe would be left alone, and never be taught to know this God better; and leaſt he ſhould be miſerable, as he had told her wicked men ſhould be, after death.

This was a ſtrange account, and very affecting to us both, but particularly to the young clergyman; he was indeed wonderfully ſurprized with it, but under the greateſt affliction imaginable, that he could not talk to her,

her, that he could not ſpeak Engliſh, to make her underſtand him; and as ſhe ſpoke but very broken Engliſh, he could not underſtand her; however, he turned himſelf to me, and told me, that he believed that there muſt be more to do with this woman than to marry her. I did not underſtand him at firſt, but at length he explained himſelf, viz. That ſhe ought to be baptized.

I agreed with him in that part readily, and was for going about it preſently. No, no; hold Sir, ſaid he; though I would have her be baptized by all means, yet I muſt obſerve that Will. Atkins, her huſband, has indeed brought her, in a wonderful manner, to be willing to embrace a religious life, and has given her juſt ideas of the being of a God; of his power, juſtice, and mercy: yet I deſire to know of him, if he has ſaid any thing to her of Jeſus Chriſt, and of the ſalvation of ſinners; of the nature of faith in him, and redemption by him; of the Holy Spirit, the reſurrection, the laſt judgment, and a future ſtate.

I called Will. Atkins again, and aſked him; but the poor fellow fell immediately into tears, and told us he had ſaid ſomething to her of all thoſe things, but that he was himſelf ſo wicked a creature, and his own conſcience ſo reproached him with his horrid, ungodly life, that he trembled at the apprehenſions that her knowledge of him ſhould leſſen the attention ſhe ſhould give to thoſe things, and make her rather contemn religion than receive it: but he was aſſured, he ſaid, that her mind was ſo diſpoſed to receive due impreſſions of all thoſe things; and that if I would but diſcourſe with her, ſhe would make it appear to my ſatisfaction, that my labour would not be loſt upon her.

Accordingly

Accordingly I called her in, and placing myſelf as interpreter between my religious prieſt and the woman, I entreated him to begin with her; but ſure ſuch a ſermon was never preached by a Popiſh prieſt, in theſe latter ages of the world; and, as I told him, I thought he had all the zeal, all the knowledge, all the ſincerity of a Chriſtian, without the error of a Roman Catholic; and that I took him to be ſuch a clergyman as the Roman biſhops were, before the church of Rome aſſumed ſpiritual ſovereignty over the conſciences of men.

In a word, he brought the poor woman to embrace the knowledge of Chriſt, and of redemption by him, not with wonder and aſtoniſhment only, as ſhe did the firſt notions of a God, but with joy and faith; with an affection, and a ſurprizing degree of underſtanding, ſcarce to be imagined, much leſs to be expreſſed; and at her own requeſt ſhe was baptized.

When he was preparing to baptize her, I entreated him that he would perform that office with ſome caution, that the man might not perceive he was of the Roman church, if poſſible; becauſe of other ill conſequences which might attend a difference among us in that very religion which we were inſtructing the other in. He told me, that as he had no conſecrated chapel, nor proper things for the office, I ſhould ſee he would do it in a manner that I ſhould not know by it that he was a Roman Catholic myſelf, if I had not known it before; and ſo he did: for ſaying only ſome words over to himſelf in Latin, which I could not underſtand, he poured a whole diſhful of water upon the woman's head, pronouncing in French very loud, "Mary," which was the name her huſband deſired me to give her, for I was her godfather, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and

and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt;" ſo that none could know any thing by it, what religion he was of. He gave the benediction afterwards in Latin, but either Will. Atkins did not know but it was French, or elſe did not take notice of it at that time.

As ſoon as this was over, we married them; and after the marriage was over, he turned to Will. Atkins, and in a very affectionate manner exhorted him, not only to perſevere in that good diſpoſition he was in, but to ſupport the convictions that were upon him by a reſolution to reform his life: told him it was in vain to ſay he repented, if he did not forſake his crimes; repreſented to him how God had honoured him with being the inſtrument of bringing his wife to the knowledge of the Chriſtian religion, and that he ſhould be careful he did not diſhonour the grace of God; and that if he did, he would ſee the heathen a better Chriſtian than himſelf; the ſavage converted, and the inſtrument caſt away.

He ſaid a great many good things to them both; and then recommending them to God's goodneſs, gave them the benediction again, I repeating every thing to them in Engliſh; and thus ended the ceremony. I think it was the moſt pleaſant, agreeable day to me, that ever I paſſed in my whole life.

But my clergyman had not done yet; his thoughts hung continually upon the converſion of the ſeven and thirty ſavages, and fain he would have ſtayed upon the iſland to have undertaken it; but I convinced him firſt, that his undertaking was impracticable in itſelf; and ſecondly, that perhaps I would put it into a way of being done in his abſence to his ſatisfaction; of which by and by.

a ving

Having thus brought the affairs of the iſland to a narrow compaſs, I was preparing to go on board the ſhip; when the young man I had taken out of the famiſhed ſhip's company came to me, and told me he underſtood I had a clergyman with me, and that I had cauſed the Engliſhmen to be married to the ſavages; that he had a match too, which he deſired might be finiſhed before I went, between two Chriſtians, which he hoped would not be diſagreeable to me.

I knew this muſt be the young woman who was his mother's ſervant, for there was no other Chriſtian woman on the iſland; ſo I began to perſuade him not to do any thing of that kind raſhly, or becauſe he found himſelf in this ſolitary circumſtance. I repreſented to him that he had ſome conſiderable ſubſtance in the world, and good friends, as I underſtood by himſelf, and the maid alſo; that the maid was not only poor, and a ſervant, but was unequal to him, ſhe being ſix or ſeven and twenty years old, and he not above ſeventeen or eighteen; that he might very probably, with my aſſiſtance, make a remove from this wilderneſs, and come into his own country again; and that then it would be a thouſand to one but he would repent his choice, and the diſlike of that circumſtance might be diſadvantageous to both. I was going to ſay more, but he interrupted, ſmiling, and told me, with a great deal of modeſty, that I miſtook in my gueſſes; that he had nothing of that kind in his thoughts; and he was very glad to hear that I had an intent of putting them in a way to ſee their own country again; and nothing ſhould have put him upon ſtaying there, but that the voyage I was going was ſo exceeding long and hazardous, and would carry him quite out of the reach of all his friends; that

that he had nothing to desire of me, but that I would settle him in some little property in the island where he was, give him a servant or two, and some few necessaries, and he would settle himself here like a planter, waiting the good time when, if ever I returned to England, I would redeem him; and hoped I would not be unmindful of him when I came to England: that he would give me some letters to his friends in London, to let them know how good I had been to him, and in what part of the world, and what circumstance I had left him in; that he promised me, that whenever I redeemed him, the plantation, and all the improvements he had made upon it, let the value be what it would, should be wholly mine.

His discourse was very prettily delivered, considering his youth, and was the more agreeable to me, because he told me positively the match was not for himself. I gave him all possible assurances, that if I lived to come safe to England, I would deliver his letters, and do his business effectually; and that he might depend I should never forget the circumstance I had left him in: but still I was impatient to know who was the person to be married; upon which he told me, it was my Jack of all trades and his maid Susan. I was most agreeably surprized when he named the match, for indeed I thought it very suitable. The character of that man I have given already; and as for the maid, she was a very honest, modest, sober, and religious young woman; had a very good share of sense, was agreeable enough in her person, spoke very handsomely, and to the purpose, always with decency and good manners, and neither too backward to speak, when requisite, nor impertinently forward, when it was not her business; very handy

handy and houſewifely, an excellent manager, fit indeed to have been governeſs to the whole iſland, and ſhe knew very well how to behave in every reſpect.

The match being propoſed in this manner, we married them the ſame day; and as I was father at the altar, as I may ſay, and gave her away, ſo I gave her a portion; for I appointed her and her huſband a handſome, large ſpace of ground for their plantation; and indeed this match, and the propoſal the young gentleman made, to give him a ſmall property in the iſland, put me upon parcelling it out amongſt them, that they might not quarrel afterwards about their ſituation.

This ſharing out the land to them, I left to Will. Atkins, who was now grown a ſober, grave, managing fellow, perfectly reformed, exceedingly pious and religious, and, as far as I may be allowed to ſpeak poſitively in ſuch a caſe, I verily believe he was a true penitent.

He divided things ſo juſtly, and ſo much to every one's ſatisfaction, that they only deſired one genera writing under my hand for the whole, which I cauſed to be drawn up, and ſigned and ſealed to them, ſetting out the bounds and ſituation of every man's plantation, and teſtifying that I gave them thereby ſeverally a right to the whole poſſeſſion and inheritance of the reſpective plantations or farms, with their improvements, to them and their heirs, reſerving all the reſt of the iſland as my own property, and a certain rent for every particular plantation after eleven years, if I, or any one from me, or in my name, came to demand it, producing an atteſted copy of the ſame writing.

As to the government and laws among them, I told them I was not capable of giving them better rules than they were able to give themſelves; only I made them promiſe me to live in love and good neighbourhood with one another; and ſo I prepared to leave them.

One thing I muſt not omit, and that is, that being now ſettled in a kind of commonwealth among themſelves, and having much buſineſs in hand, it was but odd to have ſeven and thirty Indians live in a nook of the iſland independent, and indeed unemployed; for, excepting the providing themſelves food, which they had difficulty enough in too, ſometimes they had no manner of buſineſs or property to manage. I propoſed therefore to the governor Spaniard, that he ſhould go to them, with Friday's father, and propoſe to them to remove, and either plant for themſelves, or take them into their ſeveral families as ſervants, to be maintained for their labour, but without being abſolute ſlaves; for I would not admit them to make them ſlaves by force, by any means; becauſe they had their liberty given them by capitulation, as it were articles of ſurrender, which they ought not to break.

They moſt willingly embraced the propoſal, and came all very cheerful along with him; ſo we allotted them land and plantations, which three or four accepted of, but all the reſt choſe to be employed as ſervants in the ſeveral families we had ſettled; and thus my colony was in a manner ſettled as follows:—The Spaniards poſſeſſed my original habitation, which was the capital city, and extended their plantations all along the ſide of the brook, which made the creek that I have ſo often deſcribed, as far as my bower; and as they increaſed their culture, it went always eaſtward. The

Engliſh

Engliſh lived in the north-eaſt part, where Will. Atkins and his comrades began, and came on ſouthward and ſouth-weſt, towards the back part of the Spaniards; and every plantation had a great addition of land to take in, if they found occaſion, ſo that they need not joſtle one another for want of room.

All the eaſt end of the iſland was left uninhabited; that if any of the ſavages ſhould come on ſhore there only for their uſual cuſtomary barbarities, they might come and go; if they diſturbed nobody, nobody would diſturb them: and no doubt but they were often aſhore and went away again, for I never heard that the planters were ever attacked or diſturbed any more.

It now came into my thoughts, that I had hinted to my friend the clergyman, that the work of converting the ſavages might perhaps be ſet on foot in his abſence to his ſatisfaction; and told him that now I thought it was put in a fair way; for the ſavages being thus divided among the Chriſtians, if they would but every one of them do their part with thoſe which came under their hands, I hoped it might have a very good effect

He agreed preſently in that, if, ſaid he, they will do their part; but how, ſays he, ſhall we obtain that of them? I told him we would call them all together, and leave it in charge with them, or go to them, one by one, which he thought beſt; ſo we divided it, he to ſpeak to the Spaniards, who were all Papiſts, and I to the Engliſh, who were all Proteſtants; and we recommended it earneſtly to them, and made them promiſe that they would never make any diſtinction of Papiſt or Proteſtant in their exhorting the ſavages to turn Chriſtians, but teach them the general knowledge of the true God, and of their Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; and they likewiſe pro-

promiſed us, that they would never have any differences or diſputes one with another about religion.

When I came to Will. Atkins's houſe, (I may call it ſo, for ſuch a houſe, or ſuch a piece of baſket-work, I believe was not ſtanding in the world again) there I found the young woman I have mentioned above, and Will. Atkins's wife were become intimates; and this prudent, religious young woman had perfected the work Will. Atkins had begun; and though it was not above four days after what I have related, yet the new baptized ſavage woman was made ſuch a Chriſtian as I have ſeldom heard of in all my obſervation or converſation in the world.

It came next into my mind, in the morning, before I went to them, that amongſt all the needful things I had to leave with them, I had not left them a bible, in which I ſhewed myſelf leſs conſidering for them, than my good friend the widow was for me, when ſhe ſent me the cargo of an hundred pounds from Liſbon, where ſhe packed up three bibles and a prayer-book. However, the good woman's charity had a greater extent than ever ſhe imagined, for they were reſerved for the comfort and inſtruction of thoſe that made much better uſe of them than I had done.

I took one of the bibles in my pocket, and when I came to Will. Atkins's tent or houſe, and found the young woman and Atkins's baptized wife had been diſcourſing of religion together, for Will. Atkins told it me with a great deal of joy, I aſked if they were together now, and he ſaid yes; ſo I went into the houſe, and he with me, and we found them together very earneſt in diſcourſe. O, Sir, ſays Will. Atkins, when God has ſinners to reconcile to himſelf, and aliens to bring home

he never wants a meſſenger; my wife has got a new inſtructor; I knew I was as unworthy as I was incapable of that work; that young woman has been ſent hither from heaven; ſhe is enough to convert a whole iſland of ſavages. The young woman bluſhed, and roſe up to go away, but I deſired her to ſit ſtill; I told her ſhe had a good work upon her hands, and I hoped God would bleſs her in it.

We talked a little, and I did not perceive they had any book among them, though I did not aſk; but I put my hand into my pocket, and pulled out my bible: Here, ſays I to Atkins, I have brought you an aſſiſtant that perhaps you had not before. The man was ſo confounded, that he was not able to ſpeak for ſome time; but recovering himſelf, he takes it with both his hands, and turning to his wife, Here, my dear, ſays he, did not I tell you our God, though he lives above, could hear what we ſaid? Here's the book I prayed for when you and I kneeled down under the buſh; now God has heard us, and ſent it. When he had ſaid ſo, the man fell into ſuch tranſports of paſſionate joy, that between the joy of having it, and giving God thanks for it, the tears ran down his face like a child that was crying.

The woman was ſurprized, and was like to have run into a miſtake that none of us were aware of, for ſhe firmly believed God had ſent the book upon her huſband's petition. It is true, that providentially it was ſo, and might be taken ſo in a conſequent ſenſe; but I believe it would have been no difficult matter, at that time, to have perſuaded the poor woman to have believed that an expreſs meſſenger came from heaven on purpoſe to bring that individual book; but it was too ſerious a matter to ſuffer any deluſion to take place; ſo I turned

to

to the young woman and told her, we did not desire to impose upon the new convert, in her first and more ignorant understanding of things, and begged her to explain to her, that God may be very properly said to answer our petitions, when, in the course of his providence, such things are in a particular manner brought to pass as we petitioned for; but we did not expect returns from heaven in a miraculous and particular manner, and that it is our mercy that it is not so.

This the young woman did afterwards effectually, so that there was, I assure you, no priestcraft used here; and I should have thought it one of the most unjustifiable frauds in the world to have had it so: but the surprize of joy upon Will. Atkins is really not to be expressed, and there we may be sure there was no delusion. Sure no man was ever more thankful in the world for any thing of its kind, than he was for the bible; nor, I believe, never any man was glad of a bible from a better principle; and though he had been a most profligate creature, head-strong, furious, and desperately wicked, yet this man is a standing rule to us all for the well instructing children; viz. that parents should never give over to teach and instruct, or ever despair of the success of their endeavours, let the children be ever so refractory, or, to appearance, insensible of instruction; for, if ever God, in his Providence, touches the conscience of such, the force of their education returns upon them, and the early instruction of parents is not lost, though it may have been many years laid asleep, but, some time or other, they may find the benefit of it. Thus it was with this poor man; however ignorant he was of religion and Christian knowledge, he found he had some to do with now more ignorant than himself, and that the least part of the instruction of his good father, that now came to his mind, was of use to him.

Among the reſt it occurred to him, he ſaid, how his father uſed to inſiſt ſo much on the inexpreſſible value of the bible, the privilege and bleſſing of it to nations, families, and perſons; but he never entertained the leaſt notion of the worth of it till now, when being to talk to heathens, ſavages, and barbarians, he wanted the help of the written oracle for his aſſiſtance.

The young woman was glad of it alſo for the preſent occaſion, though ſhe had one, and ſo had the youth, on board our ſhip, among their goods, which were not yet brought on ſhore. And now, having ſaid ſo many things of this young woman, I cannot omit telling one ſtory more of her and myſelf, which has ſomething in it very informing and remarkable.

I have related to what extremity the poor young woman was reduced, how her miſtreſs was ſtarved to death, and died on board that unhappy ſhip we met at ſea, and how the whole ſhip's company was reduced to the laſt extremity. The gentlewoman and her ſon, and this maid, were firſt hardly uſed, as to proviſions, and at laſt totally neglected and ſtarved; that is to ſay, brought to the laſt extremity of hunger.

One day, being diſcourſing with her on the extremities they ſuffered, I aſked her if ſhe could deſcribe, by what ſhe had felt, what it was to ſtarve, and how it appeared? She told me, ſhe believed ſhe could, and ſhe told her tale very diſtinctly, thus:

Firſt, Sir, ſaid ſhe, we had for ſome days fared exceeding hard, and ſuffered very great hunger; but at laſt, we were wholly without food of any kind, except ſugar, and a little wine and water. The firſt day, after I had received no food at all, I found myſelf, towards evening, firſt empty and ſickiſh at the ſtomach, and nearer

nearer night, much inclined to yawning and ſleep. I laid down on a couch in the great cabin to ſleep, and ſlept about three hours, and awaked a little refreſhed, having taken a glaſs of wine when I lay down; after being about three hours awake, it being about five o'clock in the morning, I found myſelf empty, and my ſtomach ſickiſh, and lay down again, but could not ſleep at all, being very faint and ill; and thus I continued all the ſecond day, with a ſtrange variety, firſt hungry, then ſick again, with reachings to vomit. The ſecond night, being obliged to go to bed again without any food, more than a draught of fair water, and being aſleep, I dreamed I was at Barbadoes, and that the market was mightily ſtocked with proviſions; that I bought ſome for my miſtreſs, and went and dined very heartily.

I thought my ſtomach was as full after this as it would have been after a good dinner; but when I awaked, I was exceedingly ſunk in my ſpirits to find myſelf in the extremity of famine. The laſt glaſs of wine we had I drank, and put ſugar in it, becauſe of its having ſome ſpirit to ſupply nouriſhment; but there being no ſubſtance in the ſtomach for the digeſting office to work upon, I found the only effect of the wine was, to raiſe diſagreeable fumes from the ſtomach into the head; and I lay, as they told me, ſtupid and ſenſeleſs, as one drunk, for ſome time.

The third day, in the morning, after a night of ſtrange, confuſed and inconſiſtent dreams, and rather dozing than ſleeping, I awaked ravenous and furious with hunger; and I queſtion, had not my underſtanding returned and conquered it, I ſay, I queſtion whe-

ther, if I had been a mother, and had had a little child with me, its life would have been ſafe or not,

This laſted about three hours; during which time I was twice raging mad as any creature in Bedlam, as my young maſter told me, and as he can now inform you.

In one of theſe fits of lunacy or diſtraction, I fell down, and ſtruck my face againſt the corner of a pallet-bed, in which my miſtreſs lay, and with the blow, the blood guſhed out of my noſe, and the cabin-boy bringing me a little baſon, I ſat down and bled into it a great deal, and as the blood came from me, I came to myſelf, and the violence of the flame or fever I was in abated, and ſo did the ravenous part of the hunger.

Then I grew ſick, and reached to vomit, but could not, for I had nothing in my ſtomach to bring up. After I had bled ſome time, I ſwooned, and they all believed I was dead, but I came to myſelf ſoon after; and then had a moſt dreadful pain in my ſtomach, not to be deſcribed, not like the cholic, but a gnawing, eager pain for food; and towards the night it went off, with a kind of earneſt wiſhing or longing for food, ſomething like, as I ſuppoſe, the longing of a woman with child. I took another draught of water, with ſugar in it; but my ſtomach loathed the ſugar, and brought it all up again: then I took a draught of water without ſugar, and that ſtayed with me; and I laid me down upon the bed, praying moſt heartily, that it would pleaſe God to take me away; and compoſing my mind in hopes of it, I ſlumbered awhile, and then waking, thought myſelf dying, being light with vapours from an empty ſtomach; I recommended my ſoul then to God, and earneſtly wiſhed that ſomebody would throw me into the ſea.

All

All this while my miſtreſs lay by me, juſt, as I thought, expiring, but bore it with much more patience than I; gave the laſt bit of bread ſhe had left to her child, my young maſter, who would not have taken it, but ſhe obliged him to eat it; and I believe it ſaved his life.

Towards the morning I ſlept again; and firſt when I awaked, I fell into a violent paſſion of crying, and after that had a ſecond fit of violent hunger; I got up ravenous, and in a moſt dreadful condition; had my miſtreſs been dead, as much as I loved her, I am certain I ſhould have eaten a piece of her fleſh with as much reliſh, and as unconcerned, as ever I did eat the fleſh of any creature appointed for food; and once or twice I was going to bite my own arm: at laſt I ſaw the baſon in which was the blood I had bled at my noſe the day before; I ran to it, and ſwallowed it with ſuch haſte, and ſuch a greedy appetite, as if I wondered nobody had taken it before, and afraid it ſhould be taken from me now.

Though after it was down, the thoughts of it filled me with horror, yet it checked the fit of hunger, and I drank a draught of fair water, and was compoſed and refreſhed for ſome hours after. This was the fourth day, and thus I held it, 'till towards night; when, within the compaſs of three hours, I had all the ſeveral circumſtances over again, one after another; viz. ſick, ſleepy, eagerly hungry, pain in the ſtomach, then ravenous again; then ſick, then lunatic, then crying, then ravenous again; and ſo every quarter of an hour, and my ſtrength waſted exceedingly: at night I laid me down, having no comfort but in the hope that I ſhould die before morning.

All this night I had no ſleep; but the hunger was now turned into a diſeaſe; and I had a terrible cholic and

griping, by wind, inſtead of food, having found its way into the bowels; and in this condition I lay till morning, when I was ſurprized with the cries and lamentations of my young maſter, who called out to me that his mother was dead: I lifted myſelf up a little, for I had not ſtrength to riſe, but found ſhe was not dead, though ſhe was able to give very little ſigns of life.

I had then ſuch convulſions in my ſtomach, for want of ſome ſuſtenance, that I cannot deſcribe; with ſuch frequent throes and pangs of appetite, that nothing but the tortures of death can imitate; and in this condition I was, when I heard the ſeamen above cry out, A ſail! a ſail! and holla and jump about, as if they were diſtracted.

I was not able to get off from the bed, and my miſtreſs much leſs; and my young maſter was ſo ſick, that I thought he had been expiring; ſo we could not open the cabin-door, or get any account what it was that occaſioned ſuch a combuſtion, nor had we any converſation with the ſhip's company for two days: they having told us, that they had not a mouthful of any thing to eat in the ſhip; and they told us afterwards, they thought we had been dead.

It was this dreadful condition we were in when you were ſent to ſave our lives; and how you found us, Sir, you know as well as I, and better too.

This was her own relation, and is ſuch a diſtinct account of ſtarving to death, as, I confeſs, I never met with, and was exceeding entertaining to me. I am the rather apt to believe it to be a true account, becauſe the youth gave me an account of a good part of it; though I muſt own, not ſo diſtinct and ſo feeling as his maid; and the rather, becauſe it ſeems his mother fed him at the price of her own life; but the poor maid,

though

though her conſtitution being ſtronger than that of her miſtreſs, who was in years, and a weakly woman too, ſhe might ſtruggle harder with it; I ſay, the poor maid might be ſuppoſed to feel the extremity ſomething ſooner than her miſtreſs, who might be allowed to keep the laſt bit ſomething longer than ſhe parted with any to relieve the maid. No queſtion, as the caſe is here related, if our ſhip, or ſome other, had not ſo providentially met them, a few days more would have ended all their lives, unleſs they had prevented it by eating one another; and that even, as their caſe ſtood, would have ſerved them but a little while, they being five hundred leagues from any land, or any poſſibility of relief, other than in the miraculous manner it happened: but this is by the way; I return to my diſpoſition of things among the people.

And firſt, it is to be obſerved here, that for many reaſons, I did not think fit to let them know any thing of the ſloop I had framed, and which I thought of ſetting up among them; for I found, at leaſt at my firſt coming, ſuch ſeeds of diviſions among them, that I ſaw plainly, had I ſet up the ſloop, and left it among them, they would, upon every light diſguſt, have ſeparated, and gone away from one another, or perhaps have turned pirates, and ſo made the iſland a den of thieves, inſtead of a plantation of ſober and religious people, as I intended it; nor did I leave the two pieces of braſs cannon that I had on board, or the two quarter-deck guns that my nephew took extraordinary, for the ſame reaſon: I thought it was enough to qualify them for a defenſive war againſt any that ſhould invade them, but not to ſet them up for an offenſive war, or to go abroad to attack others; which, in the end, would only bring ruin

ruin and deſtruction upon them: I reſerved the ſloop, therefore, and the guns, for their ſervice another way, as I ſhall obſerve in its place.

Having now done with the iſland, I left them all in good circumſtances and in a flouriſhing condition, and went on board my ſhip again the ſixth of May, having been about five and twenty days among them; and as they were all reſolved to ſtay upon the iſland till I came to remove them, I promiſed to ſend them farther relief from the Braſils, if I could poſſibly find an opportunity: and particularly I promiſed to ſend them ſome cattle, ſuch as ſheep, hogs, and cows; as to the two cows and calves which I brought from England, we had been obliged, by the length of our voyage, to kill them at ſea, for want of hay to feed them.

The next day, giving them a ſalute of five guns at parting, we ſet ſail, and arrived at the bay of All Saints, in the Braſils, in about twenty-two days, meeting nothing remarkable in our paſſage but this; that about three days after we had ſailed, being becalmed, and the current ſetting ſtrong to the E. N. E. running, as it were, into a bay or gulph on the land ſide, we were driven ſomething out of our courſe, and once or twice our men cried, land to the eaſtward; but whether it was the continent or iſlands, we could not tell, by any means.

But the third day, towards evening, the ſea ſmooth, and the weather calm, we ſaw the ſea, as it were, covered towards the land, with ſomething very black; not being able to diſcover what it was, 'till after ſome time, our chief mate going up the main-ſhrouds a little way, and looking at them with a perſpective, cried out it was an army. I could not imagine what he meant by an army, and thwarted him a little haſtily: Nay, Sir, ſays

ſays he, don't be angry, for 'tis an army, and a fleet too; for I believe there are a thouſand canoes, and you may ſee them paddle along, for they are coming towards us apace.

I was a little ſurprized then indeed, and ſo was my nephew, the captain; for he had heard ſuch terrible ſtories of them in the iſland, and having never been in thoſe ſeas before, that he could not tell what to think of it, but ſaid, two or three times, we ſhould all be devoured. I muſt confeſs, conſidering we were becalmed, and the current ſet ſtrong towards the ſhore, I liked it the worſe: however, I bade them not be afraid, but bring the ſhip to an anchor as ſoon as we came ſo near to know that we muſt engage them.

The weather continued calm, and they came on apace towards us; ſo I gave order to come to an anchor, and furl all our ſails: as for the ſavages, I told them they had nothing to fear but fire, and therefore they ſhould get their boats out, and faſten them, one cloſe by the head, and the other by the ſtern, and man them both well, and wait the iſſue in that poſture: this I did, that the men in the boats might be ready with ſkeets and buckets to put out any fire theſe ſavages would endeavour to fix to the outſide of the ſhip.

In this poſture we lay by for them, and in a little while they came up with us: but never was ſuch a horrid ſight ſeen by Chriſtians; though my mate was much miſtaken in his calculation of their number, yet when they came up we reckoned about a hundred and twenty-ſix; ſome of them had ſixteen or ſeventeen men in them, and ſome more, and the leaſt ſix or ſeven.

When they came nearer to us, they ſeemed to be ſtruck with wonder and aſtoniſhment, as at a ſight which

which they had doubtleſs never ſeen before; nor could they, at firſt, as we afterwards underſtood, know what to make of us: they came boldly up, however, very near to us, and ſeemed to go about to row round us; but we called to our men in the boats not to let them come too near them.

This very order brought us to an engagement with them, without our deſigning it; for five or ſix of the large canoes came ſo near our long-boat, that our men beckoned with their hands to keep them back, which they underſtood very well, and went back; but at their retreat, about fifty arrows came on board us from thoſe boats, and one of our men in the long-boat was very much wounded.

However, I called to them not to fire by any means; but we handed down ſome deal-boards into the boat, and the carpenter preſently ſet up a kind of fence, like waſte boards, to cover them from the arrows of the ſavages, if they ſhould ſhoot again.

About half an hour afterwards, they all came up in a body a-ſtern of us, and ſo near, as that we could eaſily diſcern what they were, though we could not tell their deſign; and I eaſily found they were ſome of my old friends, the ſame ſort of ſavages that I had been uſed to engage with; and in a ſhort time more, they rowed a little farther out to ſea, till they came directly broadſide with us, and then rowed down ſtraight upon us, till they came ſo near, that they could hear us ſpeak: upon this, I ordered all my men to keep cloſe, leſt they ſhould ſhoot any more arrows, and made all our guns ready; but being ſo near as to be within hearing, I made Friday go out upon the deck, and call out aloud to them in his language, to know what they meant; which accordingly he

he did. Whether they underſtood him or not, that I know not; but as ſoon as he had called to them, ſix of them, who were in the foremoſt or nigheſt boat to us, turned their canoes from us, and ſtooping down, ſhewed us their naked backſides, juſt as if in Engliſh, ſaving your preſence, they had bid us kiſs ——: whether this was a defiance or challenge we knew not, or whether it was done in mere contempt, or as a ſignal to the reſt; but immediately Friday cried out they were going to ſhoot; and unhappily for him, poor fellow, they let fly about three hundred of their arrows, and, to my inexpreſſible grief, killed poor Friday, no other man being in their ſight. The poor fellow was ſhot with no leſs than three arrows, and about three more fell very near him; ſuch unlucky markſmen they were!

I was ſo enraged at the loſs of my old truſty ſervant and companion, that I immediately ordered five guns to be loaded with ſmall-ſhot, and four with great, and gave them ſuch a broadſide as they had never heard in their lives before, to beſure. They were not above half a cable length off, when we fired; and our gunners took their aim ſo well, that three or four of their canoes were overſet, as we had reaſon to believe, by one ſhot only.

The ill manners of turning up their bare backſides to us, gave us no great offence; neither did I know for certain, whether that, which would paſs for the greateſt contempt among us, might be underſtood ſo by them, or not; therefore, in return, I had only reſolved to have fired four or five guns at them with powder only, which I knew would fright them ſufficiently: but when they ſhot at us directly, with all the fury they were capable of, and eſpecially as they had killed my poor

poor Friday, whom I ſo entirely loved and valued, and who indeed ſo well deſerved it, I thought myſelf not only juſtifiable before God and man, but would have been very glad if I could have overſet every canoe there, and drowned every one of them.

I can neither tell how many we killed or how many we wounded at this broadſide, but ſure ſuch a fright and hurry never was ſeen among ſuch a multitude; there were thirteen or fourteen of their canoes ſplit and overſet in all, and the men all ſet a ſwimming: the reſt, frightened out of their wits, ſcoured away as faſt as they could, taking but little care to ſave thoſe whoſe boats were ſplit or ſpoiled with our ſhot: ſo I ſuppoſe they were many of them loſt; and our men took up one poor fellow ſwimming for his life, above an hour after they were all gone.

Our ſmall-ſhot from our cannon muſt needs kill and wound a great many; but, in ſhort, we never knew any thing how it went with them, for they fled ſo faſt, that in three hours, or thereabouts, we could not ſee above three or four ſtraggling canoes, nor did we ever ſee the reſt any more; for a breeze of wind ſpringing up the ſame evening, we weighed, and ſet ſail for the Braſils.

We had a priſoner indeed, but the creature was ſo ſullen, that he would neither eat or ſpeak, and we all fancied he would ſtarve himſelf to death: but I took a way to cure him; for I made them take him and turn him into the long-boat, and make him believe they would toſs him into the ſea again, and ſo leave him where they found him, if he would not ſpeak: nor would that do, but they really did throw him into the ſea, and came away from him; and then he followed them,

for

for he ſwam like a cork, and called to them in his tongue, though they knew not one word of what he ſaid: however, at laſt they took him in again, and then he began to be more tractable; nor did I ever deſign they ſhould drown him.

We were now under ſail again; but I was the moſt diſconſolate creature alive for want of my man Friday, and would have been very glad to have gone back to the iſland, to have taken one of the reſt from thence for my occaſion, but it could not be, ſo we went on. We had one priſoner, as I have ſaid, and it was a long time before we could make him underſtand any thing; but, in time, our men taught him ſome Engliſh, and he began to be a little tractable. Afterwards, we enquired what country he came from, but could make nothing of what he ſaid; for his ſpeech was ſo odd, all gutturals, and he ſpoke in the throat in ſuch a hollow, odd manner, that we could never form a word after him; and we were all of opinion that they might ſpeak that language as well if they were gagged as otherwiſe; nor could we perceive that they had any occaſion either for teeth, tongue, lips, or palate, but formed their words juſt as a hunting-horn forms a tune, with an open throat. He told us, however, ſome time after, when we had taught him to ſpeak a little Engliſh, that they were going with their kings to fight a great battle. When he ſaid kings, we aſked him how many kings? He ſaid they were five nation: (we could not make him underſtand the plural *s*) and that they all joined to go againſt two nation. We aſked him what made them come up to us? He ſaid to makee te great wonder look: where, it is to be obſerved, that all thoſe natives, as alſo thoſe of Africa, when they learn Engliſh, always add two *e's* at

at the end of the words where we uſe one; and they place the accent upon them, as makéé, takéé, and the like, and we could not break them of it; nay, I could hardly make Friday leave it off, though at laſt he did.

And now I name the poor fellow once more, I muſt take my laſt leave of him: Poor, honeſt Friday! We buried him with all the decency and ſolemnity poſſible, by putting him into a coffin, and throwing him into the ſea; and I cauſed them to fire eleven guns for him: and ſo ended the life of the moſt grateful, faithful, honeſt, and moſt affectionate ſervant that ever man had.

We went now away with a fair wind for Brafil; and in about twelve days time, we made land in the latitude of five degrees ſouth of the line, being the north eaſtermoſt land of all that part of America. We kept on S. by E. in ſight of the ſhore four days, when we made Cape St. Auguſtine, and in three days came to an anchor off the bay of All Saints, the old place of my deliverance, from whence came both my good and evil fate.

Never ſhip came to this port that had leſs buſineſs than I had, and yet it was with great difficulty that we were admitted to hold the leaſt correſpondence on ſhore: not my partner himſelf, who was alive, and made a great figure among them, not my two merchants truſtees, not the fame of my wondeful preſervation in the iſland, could obtain me that favour: but my partner remembering that I had given five hundred moidores to the prior of the monaſtery of the Auguſtines, and two hundred and ſeventy-two to the poor, went to the monaſtery, and obliged the prior that then was, to go to the governor, and get leave for me perſonally, with the captain and one more, beſides eight ſeamen, to come on

ſhore, and no more; and this upon condition abſolutely capitulated for, that we ſhould not offer to land any goods out of the ſhip, or to carry any perſon away without licence.

They were ſo ſtrict with us, as to landing any goods, that it was with extreme difficulty that I got on ſhore three bales of Engliſh goods, ſuch as fine broad-cloths, ſtuffs, and ſome linen, which I had brought for a preſent to my partner.

He was a very generous, open-hearted man; though, like me, he came from a little at firſt: and though he knew not that I had the leaſt deſign of giving him any thing, he ſent me on board a preſent of freſh proviſions, wine and ſweet-meats, worth above thirty moidores, including ſome tobacco, and three or four fine medals of gold: but I was even with him in my preſent, which, as I have ſaid conſiſted of fine broad-cloth, Engliſh ſtuffs, lace, and fine hollands; alſo I delivered him about the value of 100l. ſterling, in the ſame goods, for other uſes; and I obliged him to ſet up the ſloop which I had brought with me from England, as I have ſaid, for the uſe of my colony, in order to ſend the refreſhments I intended to my plantation.

Accordingly he got hands, and finiſhed the ſloop in a very few days, for ſhe was already framed; and I gave the maſter of her ſuch inſtructions as he could not miſs the place; nor did he miſs them, as I had an account from my partner afterwards. I got him ſoon loaded with the ſmall cargo I ſent them; and one of our ſeamen, that had been on ſhore with me there, offered to go with the ſloop, and ſettle there, upon my letter to the governor Spaniard, to allot him a ſufficient quantity of land for a plantation, and giving him ſome

cloaths and tools for his planting work, which he ſaid he underſtood, having been an old planter at Maryland, and a buccaneer into the bargain.

I encouraged the fellow, by granting all he deſired; and, as in condition, I gave him the ſavage whom we had taken priſoner of war, to be his ſlave; and ordered the governor Spaniard to give him his ſhare of every thing he wanted with the reſt.

When we came to fit this man out, my old partner told me there was a certain very honeſt fellow, a Braſil planter of his acquaintance, who had fallen into the diſpleaſure of the church. I know not what the matter is with him, ſays he; but, on my conſcience, I think he is a heretic in his heart, and he has been obliged to conceal himſelf for fear of the Inquiſition; that he would be very glad of ſuch an opportunity to make his eſcape, with his wife and two daughters; and if I would let them go to my iſland, and allot them a plantation, he would give them a ſmall ſtock to begin with; for the officers of the Inquiſition had ſeized all his effects and eſtate, and he had nothing left but a little houſhold ſtuff, and two ſlaves: and, adds he, though I hate his principles, yet I would not have him fall into their hands, for he would be aſſuredly burned alive, if he does.

I granted this preſently, and joined my Engliſhman with them; and we concealed the man, and his wife and daughters, on board our ſhip, till the ſloop put out to go to ſea; and then, having put all their goods on board ſome time before, we put them on board the ſloop after ſhe was got out of the bay.

Our ſeaman was mightily pleaſed with this new partner; and their ſtocks indeed were much alike rich in tools, in preparations, and a farm; but nothing to begin

gin with, but as above: however, they carried over with them, which was worth all the reſt, ſome materials for planting ſugar-canes, with ſome plants of canes, which he, I mean the Portugal man, underſtood very well.

Among the reſt of the ſupplies ſent my tenants in the iſland, I ſent them by their ſloop three milch cows and five calves, about twenty-two hogs among them, three ſows big with pig, two mares, and a ſtone-horſe.

For my Spaniards, according to my promiſe, I engaged three Portugal women to go, and recommended it to them to marry them, and uſe them kindly. I could have procured more women, but I remembered that the poor proſecuted man had two daughters, and there were but five of the Spaniards that wanted; the reſt had wives of their own, though in another country.

All this cargo arrived ſafe, and as you may eaſily ſuppoſe, were very welcome to my old inhabitants, who were now, with this addition, between ſixty and ſeventy people, beſides little children, of which there were a great many. I found letters at London from them all, by way of Liſbon, when I came back to England, of which I ſhall alſo take ſome notice immediately.

I have now done with the iſland, and all manner of diſcourſe about it; and whoever reads the reſt of my memorandums, would do well to turn his thoughts entirely from it, and expect to read of the follies of an old man, not warned by his own harms, much leſs by thoſe of other men, to beware of the like; not cooled by almoſt forty years miſeries and diſappointments; not ſatisfied with proſperity beyond expectation, nor made cautious by afflictions and diſtreſs beyond imitation.

I had no more buſineſs to go to the Eaſt Indies than a man at full liberty has to go to the turnkey at New-

gate, and desire him to lock him up among the prisoners there, and starve him. Had I taken a small vessel from England, and went directly to the island; had I loaded her, as I did the other vessel, with all the necessaries for the plantation, and for my people; took a patent from the government here to have secured my property, in subjection only to that of England; had I carried over cannon and ammunition, servants, and people to plant, and taken possession of the place, fortified and strengthened it in the name of England, and encreased it with people, as I might easily have done; had I then settled myself there, and sent the ship back loaden with good rice, as I might also have done in six months time, and ordered my friends to have fitted her out again for our supply; had I done this, and stayed there myself, I had at least acted like a man of common sense: but I was possessed with a wandering spirit, scorned all advantages; I pleased myself with being the patron of the people I placed there, and doing for them in a kind of haughty, majestic way, like an old patriarchal monarch, providing for them as if I had been father of the whole family, as well as of the plantation; but I never so much as pretended to plant in the name of any government or nation, or to acknowledge any Prince, or to call my people subjects to any one nation more than another; nay, I never so much as gave the place a name, but I left it as I found it, belonging to nobody, and the people under no discipline or government but my own; who, though I had influence over them as a father and benefactor, had no authority or power to act or command one way or other, farther than voluntary consent moved them to comply: yet even this, had I stayed there, would have done well enough; but as I rambled from them,

them, and came there no more, the laſt letters I had from any of them was by my partner's means, who afterwards ſent another ſloop to the place, and who ſent me word, though I had not the letter till I got to London, ſeveral years after it was written, that they went on but poorly, were malecontent with their long ſtay there; that Will. Atkins was dead; that five of the Spaniards were come away; and though they had not been much moleſted by the ſavages, yet they had ſome ſkirmiſhes with them; and that they begged of him to write to me, to think of the promiſe I had made to fetch them away, that they might ſee their country again before they died.

But I was gone a wild-gooſe chaſe indeed! and they that will have any more of me, muſt be content to follow me into a new variety of follies, hardſhips, and wild adventures, wherein the juſtice of Providence may be duly obſerved; and we may ſee how eaſily Heaven can gorge us with our own deſires, make the ſtrongeſt of our wiſhes be our affliction, and puniſh us moſt ſeverely with thoſe very things which we think it would be our utmoſt happineſs to be allowed in. Whether I had buſineſs or no buſineſs, away I went: 'tis no time now to enlarge upon the reaſon or abſurdity of my own conduct, but to come to the hiſtory; I was embarked for the voyage, and the voyage I went.

I ſhall only add a word or two concerning my honeſt Popiſh clergyman; for let their opinion of us, and all other heretics in general, as they call us, be as uncharitable as it may, I verily believe this man was very ſincere, and wiſhed the good of all men: yet I believe he was upon the reſerve in many of his expreſſions, to prevent giving me offence; for I ſcarce heard him once call

on the bleſſed Virgin, or mention St. Jago, or his guardian angel, though ſo common with the reſt of them; however, I ſay, I had not the leaſt doubt of his ſincerity, and pious intentions on his own part; and I am firmly of opinion, if the reſt of the Popiſh miſſionaries were like him, they would ſtrive to viſit even the poor Tartars and Laplanders, where they have nothing to give them, as well as covet to flock to India, Perſia, China, &c. the moſt wealthy of the heathen countries; for if they expected to bring no gains to their church by it, it may well be admired how they came to admit the Chineſe Confucius into the calendar of the Chriſtian ſaints. But this by the bye.

A ſhip being ready to ſail for Liſbon, I ſay, my pious prieſt aſked me leave to go thither; being ſtill, as he obſerved, bound never to finiſh any voyage he began. How happy had it been for me if I had gone with him! But it was too late now; all things Heaven appoints for the beſt: had I gone with him, I had never had ſo many things to be thankful for, and you had never heard of the ſecond part of the travels and adventures of Robinſon Cruſoe; ſo I muſt here leave exclaiming at myſelf, and go on with my voyage. From the Braſils we made directly over the Atlantic Sea to the Cape of Good Hope, and had a tolerable good voyage, our courſe generally ſouth-eaſt, now and then a ſtorm, and ſome contrary winds; but my diſaſters at ſea were at an end; my future rubs and croſs events were to befal me on ſhore, that it might appear the land was as well prepared to be our ſcourge as the ſea.

Our ſhip was on a trading voyage, and had a ſupercargo on board, who was to direct all her motions after ſhe arrived at the Cape, only being limited to a certain number

number of days for ſtay, by charter party, at the ſeveral ports ſhe was to go to. This was none of my buſineſs, neither did meddle with it; my nephew, the captain, and the ſupercargo, adjuſting all thoſe things between them as they thought fit.

We ſtayed at the Cape no longer than was needful to take in freſh water, but made the beſt of our way for the coaſt of Coromandel. We were indeed informed, that a French man of war of fifty guns, and two large merchant ſhips were gone for the Indies; and as I knew we were at war with France, I had ſome apprehenſions of them; but they went their own way, and we heard no more of them.

I ſhall not peſter my account or the reader with a a tedious deſcription of places, journals of our voyages, variations of the compaſs, latitudes, trade-winds, &c.; it is enough to name the ports and places which we touched at, and what occurred to us upon our paſſing from one to another. We touched firſt at the iſland of Madagaſcar; where, though the people are fierce and treacherous, and in particular, very well armed with lances and bows, which they uſe with inconceivable dexterity, yet we fared very well with them a while; they treated us very civilly, and for ſome trifles which we gave them, ſuch as knives, ſciſſars, &c. they brought us eleven good fat bullocks of a middling ſize, which we took in, partly for freſh proviſions for our preſent ſpending, and the reſt to ſalt for the ſhip's uſe.

We were obliged to ſtay here ſome time after we had furniſhed ourſelves with proviſions; and I, who was always too curious to look into every nook of the world wherever I came, was for going on ſhore as often as I could. It was on the eaſt ſide of the iſland that we went

on ſhore, one evening; and the people, who, by the way, are very numerous, came thronging about us, and ſtood gazing at us at a diſtance; but as we had traded freely with them, and had been kindly uſed, we thought ourſelves in no danger; but when we ſaw the people, we cut three boughs out of a tree, and ſtuck them up at a diſtance from us; which, it ſeems, is a mark in that country, not only of a truce and friendſhip, but when it is accepted, the other ſide ſets up three poles or boughs, which is a ſignal that they accept the truce too; but then this is a known condition of the truce too, that you are not to paſs beyond their three poles, towards them, nor they to come paſt your three poles or boughs, towards you; ſo that you are perfectly ſecure within the three poles, and all the ſpace between your poles and theirs, is allowed like a market for free converſe, traffic, and commerce. When you go there, you muſt not carry your weapons with you; and if they come into that ſpace, they ſtick up their javelins and lances all at the firſt poles, and come on unarmed; but if any violence is offered them, and the truce thereby broken, away they run to the poles, and lay hold of their weapons, and the truce is at an end.

It happened one evening, when we went on ſhore, that a greater number of their people came down than uſual, but all very friendly and civil; and they brought in ſeveral kinds of proviſions, for which we ſatisfied them with ſuch toys as we had; their women alſo brought us milk and roots, and ſeveral things very acceptable to us, and all was quiet, and we made us a little tent or hut of ſome boughs of trees, and lay on ſhore all night.

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I know not what was the occaſion, but I was not ſo well ſatisfied to lay on ſhore as the reſt; and the boat riding at an anchor about a ſtone-caſt from the land, with two men in her, to take care of her, I made one of them come on ſhore; and getting ſome boughs of trees to cover us alſo in the boat, I ſpread the ſail on the bottom of the boat, and lay under the cover of the branches of trees all night in the boat.

About two o'clock in the morning, we heard one of our men make a terrible noiſe on the ſhore, calling out, for God's ſake, to bring the boat in, and come and help them, for they were all like to be murdered; at the ſame time I heard the fire of five muſkets, which was the number of the guns they had, and that three times over; for, it ſeems, the natives here were not ſo eaſily frightened with guns as the ſavages were in America, where I had to do with them.

All this while I knew not what was the matter, but rouſing immediately from ſleep with the noiſe, I cauſed the boat to be thruſt in, and reſolved with three fuzees we had on board to land and aſſiſt our men.

We got the boat ſoon to the ſhore, but our men were in too much haſte; for being come to the ſhore, they plunged into the water, to get to the boat with all the expedition they could, being purſued by between three and four hundred men. Our men were but nine in all, and only five of them had fuzees with them, the reſt had indeed piſtols and ſwords, but they were of ſmall uſe to them.

We took up ſeven of our men, and with difficulty enough too, three of them being very ill wounded; and that which was ſtill worſe, was, that while we ſtood in the boat to take our men in, we were in as much danger

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as they were in on ſhore; for they poured their arrows in upon us ſo thick, that we were fain to barricade the ſide of the boat up with the benches, and two or three looſe boards, which, to our great ſatisfaction, we had by mere accident in the boat.

And yet, had it been day-light, they are, it ſeems, ſuch exact markſmen, that if they could have ſeen but the leaſt part of any of us, they would have been ſure of us; we had, by the light of the moon, a little ſight of them, as they ſtood pelting us from the ſhore with darts and arrows; and having got ready our fire-arms, we gave them a volley, that we could hear, by the cries of ſome of them, that we had wounded ſeveral; however, they ſtood thus in battle array on the ſhore till break of day, which we ſuppoſe was that they might ſee the better to take their aim at us.

In this condition we lay, and could not tell how to weigh our anchor or ſet up our ſail, becauſe we muſt needs ſtand up in the boat, and they were as ſure to hit us, as we were to hit a bird in a tree with ſmall ſhot. We made ſignals of diſtreſs to the ſhip, which, though ſhe rode a league off, yet my nephew, the captain, hearing our firing, and by glaſſes perceiving the poſture we lay in, and that we fired towards the ſhore, pretty well underſtood us; and weighing anchor with all ſpeed, he ſtood as near the ſhore as he durſt with the ſhip, and then ſent another boat, with ten hands in her, to aſſiſt us; but we called to them not to come too near, telling them what condition we were in; however, they ſtood in near to us, and one of the men taking the end of a tow-line in his hand, and keeping our boat between him and the enemy, ſo that they could not perfectly ſee him, ſwam on board us, and made faſt the line to the boat;

boat; upon which we ſlipped out our little cable, and leaving our anchor behind, they towed us out of reach of the arrows; we all the while lying cloſe behind the barricado we had made.

As ſoon as we were got from between the ſhip and the ſhore, that ſhe could lay her ſide to the ſhore, ſhe run along juſt by them, and poured in a broadſide among them loaded with pieces of iron and lead, ſmall bullets, and ſuch ſtuff, beſides the great ſhot, which made a terrible havock among them.

When we were got on board and out of danger, we had time to examine into the occaſion of this fray; and indeed our ſupercargo, who had been often in thoſe parts, put me upon it; for he ſaid he was ſure the inhabitants would not have touched us after we had made a truce, if we had not done ſomething to provoke them to it: at length it came out, viz. that an old woman, who had come to ſell us ſome milk, had brought it within our poles, with a young woman with her, who alſo brought ſome roots or herbs; and while the old woman (whether ſhe was mother to the young woman or no, they could not tell) was ſelling us the milk, one of our men offered ſome rudeneſs to the wench that was with her, at which the old woman made a great noiſe: however, the ſeaman would not quit his prize, but carried her out of the old woman's ſight among the trees, it being almoſt dark: the old woman went away without her, and, as we may ſuppoſe, made an out-cry among the people ſhe came from; who, upon notice, raiſed this great army upon us in three or four hours; and it was great odds but we had all been deſtroyed.

One of our men was killed with a lance thrown at him juſt at the beginning of the attack, as he ſallied

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out of the tent they had made; the reſt came off free, all but the fellow who was the occaſion of all the miſchief, who paid dear enough for his black miſtreſs, for we could not hear what became of him a great while. We lay upon the ſhore two days after, though the wind preſented, and made ſignals for him, and made our boat ſail up ſhore and down ſhore ſeveral leagues, but in vain; ſo we were obliged to give him over: and if he alone had ſuffered for it, the loſs had been leſs.

I could not ſatisfy myſelf, however, without venturing on ſhore once more, to try if I could learn any thing of him or them; it was the third night after the action, that I had a great mind to learn, if I could by any means, what miſchief we had done, and how the game ſtood on the Indians' ſide. I was careful to do it in the dark, leſt we ſhould be attack d again; but I ought indeed to have been ſure that the men I went with had been under my command before I engaged in a thing ſo hazardous and miſchievous, as I was brought into by it without deſign.

We took twenty as ſtout fellows with us as any in the ſhip, beſides the ſupercargo and myſelf, and we landed two hours before midnight, at the ſame place where the Indians ſtood drawn up the evening before: I landed here, becauſe my deſign, as I have ſaid, was chiefly to ſee if they had quitted the field, and if they had left any marks behind them of the miſchief we had done them; and I thought if we could ſurprize one or two of them, perhaps we might get our man again, by way of exchange.

We landed without any noiſe, and divided our men into two bodies, whereof the boatſwain commanded one, and I the other. We neither ſaw or heard anybody

body ſtir when we landed; and we marched up, one body at a diſtance from the other, to the place; but at firſt could ſee nothing, it being very dark; till, by and by, our boatſwain, who led the firſt party, ſtumbled, and fell over a dead body. This made them halt a while; for knowing by the circumſtances, that they were at the place where the Indians had ſtood, they waited for my coming up there. We concluded to halt till the moon began to riſe, which we knew would be in leſs than an hour, when we could eaſily diſcern the havock we had made among them. We told thirty-two bodies upon the ground, whereof two were not quite dead; ſome had an arm, and ſome a leg ſhot off, and one his head; thoſe that were wounded, we ſuppoſe, they had carried away.

When we had made, as I thought, a full diſcovery of all we could come to the knowledge of, I was reſolved for going on board; but the boatſwain and his party ſent me word, that they were reſolved to make a viſit to the Indian town, where theſe dogs, as they called them, dwelt, and aſked me to go along with them; and if they could find them, as they ſtill fancied they ſhould, they did not doubt of getting a good booty; and it might be, they might find Tom Jeffry there; that was the man's name we had loſt.

Had they ſent to aſk my leave to go, I knew well enough what anſwer to have given them; for I ſhould have commanded them inſtantly on board, knowing it was not a hazard fit for us to run, who had a ſhip, and ſhip-loading in our charge, and a voyage to make which depended very much upon the lives of the men; but as they ſent me word they were reſolved to go, and only aſked me and my company to go along with them, I

poſitively

poſitively refuſed it, and roſe up, for I was ſitting on the ground, in order to go to the boat. One or two of the men began to importune me to go; and when I refuſed, began to grumble, and ſay that they were not under my command, and they would go. Come, Jack, ſays one of the men, will you go with me?—I'll go for one. Jack ſaid he would,—and then another,—and, in a word, they all left me but one, whom I perſuaded to ſtay, and a boy left in the boat. So the ſupercargo and I, with the third man, went back to the boat, where we told them we would ſtay for them, and take care to take in as many of them as ſhould be left; for I told them it was a mad thing they were going about, and ſuppoſed moſt of them would run the fate of Tom Jeffry.

They told me, like ſeamen, they would warrant it, they would come off again, and they would take care, &c. ſo away they went. I entreated them to conſider the ſhip and the voyage, that their lives were not their own, and that they were entruſted with the voyage, in ſome meaſure; that if they miſcarried, the ſhip might be loſt for want of their help, and that they could not anſwer for it to God or man. But I might as well have talked to the mainmaſt of the ſhip; they were mad upon their journey, only they gave me good words, and begged I would not be angry; that they did not doubt but they would be back again in about an hour at fartheſt; for the Indian town, they ſaid, was not above half a mile off, though they found it above two miles before they got to it.

Well, they all went away as above; and though the attempt was deſperate, and ſuch as none but madmen would have gone about, yet, to give them their due, they went about it as warily as boldly: they were gallantly

gallantly armed; for they had every man a fuzee or muſket, a bayonet and a piſtol; ſome of them had broad cutlaſſes, ſome of them had hangers, and the boatſwain and two more had pole-axes; beſides all which, they had among them thirteen hand-grenadoes: bolder fellows, and better provided, never went about any wicked work in the world.

When they went out, their chief deſign was plunder, and they were in mighty hopes of finding gold there; but a circumſtance, which none of them were aware of, ſet them on fire with revenge, and made devils of them all. When they came to the few Indian houſes which they thought had been the town, which was not above half a mile off, they were under a great diſappointment, for they were not above twelve or thirteen houſes; and where the town was, or how big, they knew not. They conſulted therefore what to do, and were ſome time before they could reſolve; for if they fell upon theſe, they muſt cut all their throats, and it was ten to one but ſome of them might eſcape, it being in the night, though the moon was up; and if one eſcaped, he would run away and raiſe all the town, ſo they ſhould have a whole army upon them: again, on the other hand, if they went away and left thoſe untouched, for the people were all aſleep, they could not tell which way to look for the town.

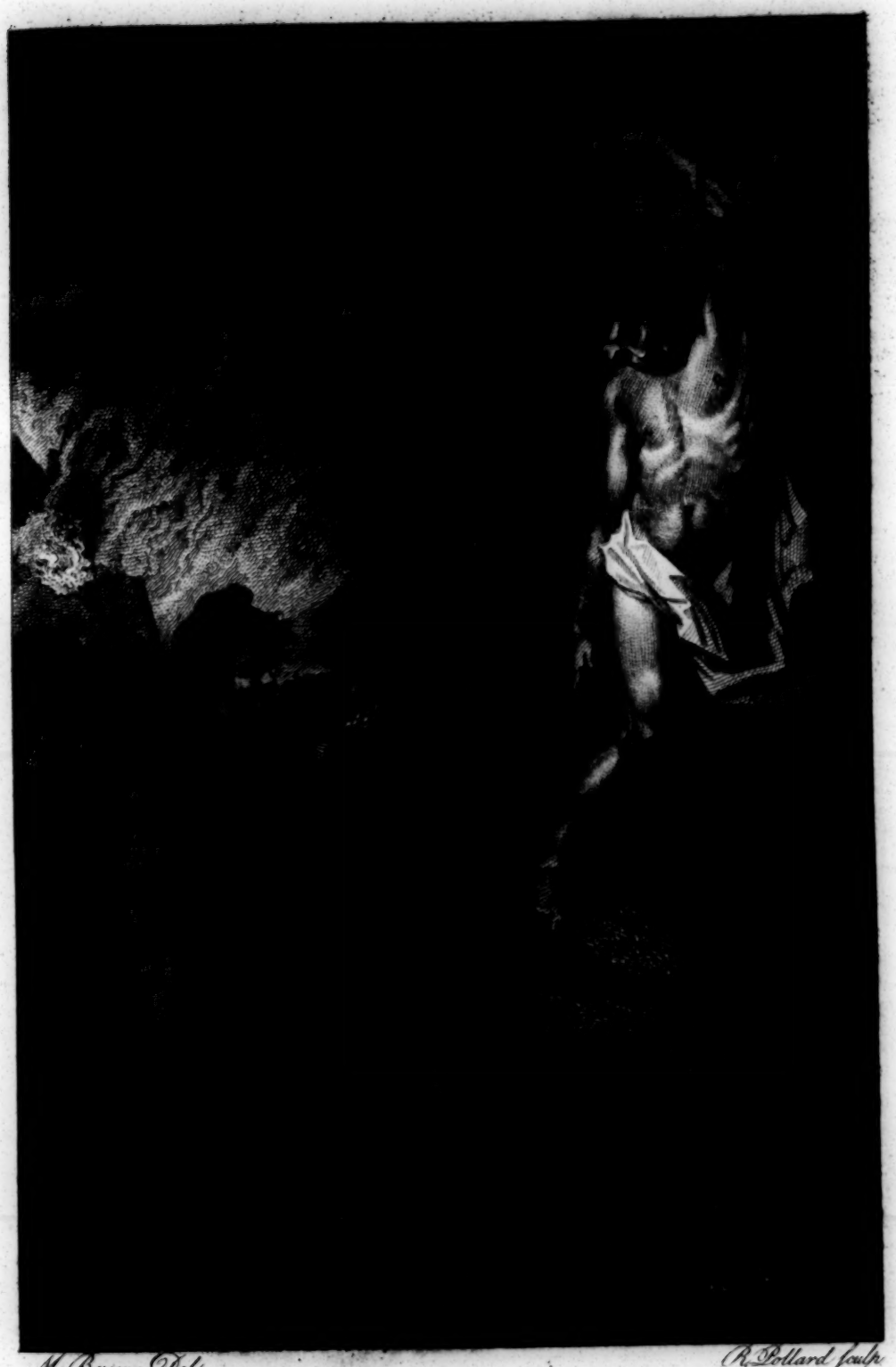
However, the laſt was the beſt advice; ſo they reſolved to leave them, and look for the town as well as they could: they went on a little way, and found a cow tied to a tree; this, they preſently concluded, would be a good guide to them; for they ſaid, the cow certainly belonged to the town before them, or the town behind them; and if they untied her, they ſhould ſee which way

way ſhe went; if ſhe went back, they had nothing to ſay to her; but, if ſhe went forward, they would follow her: ſo they cut the cord, which was made of twiſted flags, and the cow went on before them, directly to the town; which, as they report, conſiſted of above two hundred houſes or huts, and in ſome of theſe they found ſeveral families living together.

Here they found all in ſilence, as profoundly ſecure as ſleep could make them: and firſt, they called another council, to conſider what they had to do; and, in a word, they reſolved to divide themſelves into three bodies, and to ſet three houſes on fire in three parts of the town; and as the men came out, to ſeize them and bind them; (if any reſiſted, they need not be aſked what to do then) and ſo to ſearch the reſt of the houſes for plunder: but they reſolved to march ſilently firſt through the town, and ſee what dimenſions it was of, and if they might venture upon it or no.

They did ſo, and deſperately reſolved that they would venture upon them: but while they were animating one another to the work, three of them, who were a little before the reſt, called out aloud to them, and told them that they had found Tom Jeffry: they all ran up to the place; where they found the poor fellow hanged up naked by one arm, and his throat cut. There was an Indian houſe juſt by the tree, where they found ſixteen or ſeventeen of the principal Indians, who had been concerned in the fray with us before, and two or three of them wounded with our ſhot; and our men found they were awake, and talking one to another in that houſe, but knew not their number.

The ſight of their poor mangled comrade ſo enraged them, as before, that they ſwore to one another they would



M. Brown Del.

R. Pollard Sculp.

Logographic Edition of Robinson Crusoe.

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would be revenged, and that not an Indian that came into their hands ſhould have any quarter; and to work they went immediately, and yet not ſo madly as, by the rage and fury they were in, might be expected: their firſt care was to get ſomething that would ſoon take fire, but after a little ſearch, they found that would be to no purpoſe; but the moſt of the houſes were low, and thatched with flags and ruſhes, of which the country is full; ſo they preſently made ſome wild-fire, as we call it, by wetting a little powder in the palm of their hands, and in a quarter of an hour they ſet the town on fire in four or five places, and particularly in that houſe where the Indians were not gone to bed. As ſoon as the fire began to blaze, the poor frightened creatures began to ruſh out, to ſave their lives, but met with their fate in the attempt; and eſpecially at the door, where they drove them back, the boatſwain himſelf killing one or two with his pole-axe: the houſe being large, and many in it, he did not care to go in, but called for a hand-grenado, and threw it among them, which at firſt frightened them, but when it burſt, made ſuch havock among them, that they cried out in a hideous manner.

In ſhort, moſt of the Indians who were in the open part of the houſe were killed or hurt with the grenado, except two or three more, who preſſed to the door, which the boatſwain and two more kept, with their bayonets on the muzzles of their pieces, and diſpatched all that came in their way: but there was another apartment in the houſe where the Prince or King, or whatever he was, and ſeveral others were; and theſe were kept in, till the houſe, which was by this time all in a light flame, fell in upon them, and they were ſmothered together.

All this while they fired not a gun, becauſe they would not waken the people faſter than they could maſter them; but the fire began to waken them faſt enough, and our fellows were glad to keep a little together in bodies; for the fire grew ſo raging, all the houſes being made of light combuſtible ſtuff, that they could hardly bear the ſtreet between them; and their buſineſs was to follow the fire, for the ſurer execution: as faſt as the fire either forced the people out of thoſe houſes which were burning, or frightened them out of others, our people were ready at their doors to knock them on the head, ſtill calling and hollaing one to another to remember Tom Jeffrys.

While this was doing, I muſt confeſs I was very uneaſy, and eſpecially when I ſaw the flames of the town, which, it being night, ſeemed to be juſt by me.

My nephew, the captain, who was rouſed by his men too, ſeeing ſuch a fire, was very uneaſy, not knowing what the matter was, or what danger I was in, eſpecially hearing the guns too, for by this time they began to uſe their fire-arms; a thouſand thoughts oppreſſed his mind concerning me and the ſupercargo, what would become of us; and at laſt, though he could ill ſpare any more men, yet not knowing what exigence we might be in, he takes another boat, and with thirteen men and himſelf comes on ſhore to me.

He was ſurprized to ſee me and the ſupercargo in the boat, with no more than two men; and though he was glad that we were well, yet he was in the ſame impatience with us to know what was doing; for the noiſe continued, and the flame increaſed; in ſhort, it was next to an impoſſibility for any man in the world to reſtrain their curioſity to know what had happened, or

their

their concern for the ſafety of the men: in a word, the captain told me, he would go and help his men, let what would come. I argued with him, as I did before with the men, the ſafety of the ſhip, the danger of the voyage, the intereſt of the owners and merchants, &c. and told him I would go and the two men, and only ſee if we could at a diſtance learn what was like to be the event, and come back and tell him. It was all one to talk to my nephew as it was to talk to the reſt before; he would go, he ſaid; and he only wiſhed he had left but ten men in the ſhip: for he could not think of having his men loſt for want of help; he had rather loſe the ſhip, the voyage, and his life and all; and away he went.

I was no more able to ſtay behind now, than I was to perſuade them not to go; ſo, in ſhort, the captain ordered two men to row back the pinnace, and fetch twelve men more, leaving the long-boat at an anchor; and that when they came back, ſix men ſhould keep the two boats, and ſix more come after us: ſo that he left only ſixteen men in the ſhip; for the whole ſhip's company conſiſted of ſixty-five men, whereof two were loſt in the late quarrel which brought this miſchief on.

Being now on the march, you may be ſure we felt little of the ground we trod on; and being guided by the fire, we kept no path, but went directly to the place of the flame. If the noiſe of the guns was ſurpriſing to us before, the cries of the poor people were now quite of another nature, and filled us with horror. I muſt confeſs, I was never at the ſacking a city, or at the taking a town by ſtorm; I had heard of Oliver Cromwell taking Drogheda, in Ireland, and killing man, woman and child; and I had read of Count Tilly ſack-

ing the city of Magdebourg, and cutting the throats of twenty-two thouſand of all ſexes; but I never had an idea of the thing itſelf before, nor is it poſſible to deſcribe it, or the horror that was upon our minds at hearing it. However, we went on, and at length came to the town, though there was no entering the ſtreets of it for the fire. The firſt object we met with, was the ruins of a hut or houſe, or rather the aſhes of it, for the houſe was conſumed; and juſt before it, plain now to be ſeen by the light of the fire, lay four men and three women killed, and, as we thought, one or two more lay in the heap among the fire: in ſhort, there were ſuch inſtances of a rage altogether barbarous, and of a fury ſomething beyond what was human, that we thought it impoſſible our men could be guilty of it; or if they were the authors of it, we thought they ought to be every one of them put to the worſt of deaths. But this is not all: we ſaw the fire increaſed forward, and the cry went on juſt as the fire went on; ſo that we were in the utmoſt confuſion. We advanced a little way farther; and behold, to our aſtoniſhment, three naked women, and crying in a moſt dreadful manner, came flying as if they had wings, and after them ſixteen or ſeventeen men, natives, in the ſame terror and conſternation, with three of our Engliſh butchers in the rear; who, when they could not overtake them, fired in among them, and one that was killed by their ſhot, fell down in our ſight. When the reſt ſaw us, believing us to be their enemies, and that we would murder them as well as thoſe that purſued them, they ſet up a moſt dreadful ſhriek, eſpecially the women, and two of them fell down, as if already dead, with the fright.

My

My very ſoul ſhrunk within me, and my blood ran chill in my veins, when I ſaw this; and I believe, had the three Engliſh ſailors that purſued them come on, I had made our men kill them all: however, we took ſome ways to let the poor flying creatures know that we would not hurt them; and immediately they came up to us, and kneeling down, with their hands lifted up, made piteous lamentation to us to ſave them, which we let them know we would; whereupon they crept altogether in a huddle cloſe behind us, as for protection. I left my men drawn up together, and charging them to hurt nobody, but, if poſſible, to get at ſome of our people, and ſee what devil it was poſſeſſed them, and what they intended to do, and to command them off; aſſuring them, that if they ſtayed till day-light, they would have an hundred thouſand men about their ears: I ſay I left them, and went among thoſe flying people, taking only two of our men with me: and there was indeed a piteous ſpectacle among them; ſome of them had their feet terribly burned, with trampling and running through the fire, others their hands burned; one of the women had fallen down in the fire, and was very much burned before ſhe could get out again; and two or three of the men had cuts in their backs and thighs, from our men purſuing; and another was ſhot through the body, and died while I was there.

I would fain have learned what the occaſion of all this was, but I could not underſtand one word they ſaid; though, by ſigns, I perceived ſome of them knew not what was the occaſion themſelves. I was ſo terrified in my thoughts at this outrageous attempt, that I could not ſtay there, but went back to my own men, and reſolved to go into the middle of the town, through the

fire, or whatever might be in the way, and put an end to it, coſt what it would: accordingly, as I came back to my men, I told them my reſolution, and commanded them to follow me; when, in the very moment, came four of our men, with the boatſwain at their head, roving over heaps of bodies they had killed, all covered with blood and duſt, as if they wanted more people to maſſacre, when our men hollaed to them as loud as they could holla; and with much ado one of them made them hear, ſo that they knew who we were, and came up to us.

As ſoon the boatſwain ſaw us, he ſat up a holla, like a ſhout of triumph, for having, as he thought, more help come; and without bearing to hear me, Captain, ſays he, noble captain! I am glad you are come; we are not half done yet: villainous, hell-hound dogs! I'll kill as many of them as poor Tom has hairs upon his head; we have ſworn to ſpare none of them; we'll root out the very nation of them from the earth: and thus he ran on, out of breath too with action, and would not give us leave to ſpeak a word.

At laſt, raiſing my voice, that I might ſilence him a little, Barbarous dog! ſaid I, what are you doing? I won't have one creature touched more, upon pain of death: I charge you, upon your life, to ſtop your hands, and ſtand ſtill here, or you are a dead man this minute.

Why, Sir, ſays he, do you know what you do, or what they have done? If you want a reaſon for what they have done, come hither; and with that he ſhewed me the poor fellow hanging with his throat cut.

I confeſs I was urged then myſelf, and at another time ſhould have been forward enough; but I thought they had carried their rage too far, and remembered

Jacob's

Jacob's words to his ſons Simeon and Levi: "Curſed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel." But I had now a new taſk upon my hands; for when the men I carried with me ſaw the fight, as I had done, I had as much to do to reſtrain them as I ſhould have had with the others; nay, my nephew himſelf fell in with them, and told me, in their hearing, that he was only concerned for fear of the men being overpowered; and as to the people, he thought not one of them ought to live; for they had all glutted themſelves with the murder of the poor man, and that they ought to be uſed like murderers: upon theſe words, away ran eight of my men with the boatſwain and his crew, to complete their bloody work; and I, ſeeing it quite out of my power to reſtrain them, came away penſive and ſad; for I could not bear the fight, much leſs the horrible noiſe and cries of the poor wretches that fell into their hands.

I got nobody to come back with me but the ſupercargo and two men, and with theſe walked back to the boat. It was a very great piece of folly in me, I confeſs, to venture back, as it were alone; for as it began now to be almoſt day, and the alarm had ran over the country, there ſtood about forty men, armed with lances and bows, at the little place where the twelve or thirteen houſes ſtood, mentioned before; but by accident I miſſed the place, and came directly to the ſea-ſide; and by the time I got to the ſea-ſide, it was broad day: immediately I took the pinnace and went aboard, and ſent her back, to aſſiſt the men in what might happen.

I obſerved, about the time that I came to the boat ſide, that the fire was pretty well out, and the noiſe

but in about half an hour after I got on board, I heard a volley of our men's fire-arms, and ſaw a great ſmoke: this, as I underſtood afterwards, was our men falling upon the men, who, as I ſaid, ſtood at the few houſes on the way, of whom they killed ſixteen or ſeventeen, and ſet all the houſes on fire, but did not meddle with the women or children.

By that time the men got to the ſhore again with the pinnace, our men began to appear; they came dropping in, not in two bodies as they went, but ſtraggling here and there, in ſuch a manner, that a ſmall force of reſolute men might have cut them all off.

But the dread of them was upon the whole country; and the men were ſurprized, and ſo frightened, that I believe an hundred of them would have fled at the ſight of but five of our men: nor in all this terrible action was there a man that made any conſiderable defence; they were ſo ſurprized between the terror of the fire, and the ſudden attack of our men in the dark, that they knew not which way to turn themſelves; for if they fled one way, they were met by one party; if back again, by another; ſo that they were every where knocked down: nor did any of our men receive the leaſt hurt, except one that ſprained his foot, and another that had one of his hands burned.

I was very angry with my nephew, the captain, and indeed with all the men, in my mind, but with him in particular, as well for his acting ſo out of his duty, as commander of the ſhip, and having the charge of the voyage upon him, as in his prompting, rather than cooling, the rage of his blind men, in ſo bloody and cruel an enterpriſe. My nephew anſwered me very reſpectfully, but told me, that when he ſaw the body of

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the poor ſeaman, whom they had murdered in ſo cruel and barbarous a manner, he was not maſter of himſelf, neither could he govern his paſſion: he owned he ſhould not have done ſo, as he was commander of the ſhip; but as he was a man, and nature moved him, he could not bear it. As for the reſt of the men, they were not ſubject to me at all, and they knew it well enough; ſo they took no notice of my diſlike.

The next day we ſet ſail, ſo we never heard any more of it. Our men differed in the account of the number they had killed; but according to the beſt of their accounts, put all together, they killed or deſtroyed about one hundred and fifty people, men, women, and children, and left not a houſe ſtanding in the town.

As for the poor fellow, Tom Jeffry, as he was quite dead, for his throat was ſo cut, that his head was half off, it would do him no ſervice to bring him away; ſo they only took him down from the tree, where he was hanging by one hand.

However juſt our men thought this action, I was againſt them in it; and I always, after that time, told them God would blaſt the voyage; for I looked upon all the blood they ſhed that night to be murder in them: for though it is true that they had killed Tom Jeffry, yet Jeffry was the aggreſſor, had broken the truce, and had violated or debauched a young woman of theirs, who came down to them innocently, and on the faith of the public capitulation.

The boatſwain defended this quarrel when we were afterwards on board. He ſaid, it was true that we ſeemed to break the truce, but really had not; and that the war was begun the night before by the natives themſelves, who had ſhot at us, and killed one of our men without

without any juſt provocation; ſo that as we were in a capacity to fight them now, we might alſo be in a capacity to do ourſelves juſtice upon them in an extraordinary manner; that though the poor man had taken a little liberty with the wench, he ought not to have been murdered, and that in ſuch a villainous manner; and that they did nothing but what was juſt, and what the laws of God allowed to be done to murderers.

One would think this ſhould have been enough to have warned us againſt going on ſhore amongſt heathens and barbarians: but it is impoſſible to make mankind wiſe, but at their own expence; and their experience ſeems to be always of moſt uſe to them, when it is deareſt bought.

We were now bound to the gulph of Perſia, and from thence to the coaſt of Coromandel, only to touch at Surat: but the chief of the ſupercargo's deſign lay at the bay of Bengal; where, if he miſſed of his buſineſs outward-bound, he was to go up to China, and return to the Coaſt as he came home.

The firſt diſaſter that befel us, was in the gulph of Perſia; where five of our men venturing on ſhore on the Arabian ſide of the gulph, were ſurrounded by the Arabians, and either all killed or carried away into ſlavery; the reſt of the boats crew were not able to reſcue them, and had but juſt time to get off their boat. I began to upbraid them with the juſt retribution of heaven in this caſe: but the boatſwain very warmly told me, he thought I went farther in my cenſures than I could ſhew any warrant for in Scripture; and referred to Luke xiii. 4. where our Saviour intimates, that thoſe men on whom the tower of Siloam fell, were not ſinners above all the Gallileans: but that which indeed put me to ſilence in

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the caſe, was, that not one of theſe five men who were now loſt, were of thoſe who went on ſhore to the maſſacre of Madagaſcar; ſo I always called it, though our men could not bear to hear the word *maſſacre*, with any patience.

But my frequent preaching to them on this ſubject had worſe conſequences than I expected; and the boatſwain, who had been the head of the attempt, came up boldly to me one time, and told me, he found that I brought that affair continually upon the ſtage; that I made unjuſt reflections upon it, and had uſed the men very ill on that account, and himſelf in particular; that as I was but a paſſenger, and had no command in the ſhip, or concern in the voyage, they were not obliged to bear it; that they did not know but I might have ſome ill deſign in my head, and perhaps to call them to an account for it when they came to England; and that therefore, unleſs I would reſolve to have done with it, and alſo not to concern myſelf any farther with him, or any of his affairs, he would leave the ſhip; for he did not think it was ſafe to ſail with me among them.

I heard him patiently enough till he had done; and then told him, that I confeſs I had all along oppoſed the maſſacre of Madagaſcar; and that I had, on all occaſions, ſpoken my mind freely about it, though not more upon him than any of the reſt: that as to my having no command of the ſhip, that was true; nor did I exerciſe any authority, only took the liberty of ſpeaking my mind in things which publicly concerned us all; and what concern I had in the voyage, was none of his buſineſs; that I was a conſiderable owner in the ſhip; in that claim, I conceived I had a right to ſpeak even farther than I had done, and would not be accountable to

him

him or any one elſe; and begun to be a little warm with him: he made but little reply to me at that time, and I thought the affair had been over. We were at this time in the road at Bengal; and being willing to ſee the place, I went on ſhore, with the ſupercargo, in the ſhip's boat, to divert myſelf; and towards evening was preparing to go on board, when one of the men came to me, and told me, he would not have me trouble myſelf to come down to the boat, for they had orders not to carry me on board any more. Any one may gueſs what a ſurprize I was in at ſo inſolent a meſſage; and I aſked the man who bade him deliver that errand to me? He told me the cockſwain. I ſaid no more to the fellow, but bade him let them know he had delivered his meſſage, and that I had given him no anſwer to it.

I immediately went and found out the ſupercargo, and told him the ſtory; adding, what I preſently foreſaw, viz. That there would be a mutiny in the ſhip; and entreated him to go immediately on board the ſhip in an Indian boat, and acquaint the captain of it. But I might have ſpared this intelligence; for before I had ſpoken to him on ſhore, the matter was effected on board. The boatſwain, the gunner, the carpenter, and all the inferior officers, as ſoon as I was gone off in the boat, came up, and deſired to ſpeak with the captain; and there the boatſwain, making a long harangue, and repeating all he had ſaid to me, told the captain, in a few words, that as I was now gone peaceably on ſhore, they were loth to uſe any violence with me, which if I had not gone on ſhore they would otherways have done, to oblige me to have gone; they therefore thought fit to tell him, that as they ſhipped themſelves to ſerve in the ſhip under his command, they would perform it well and

and faithfully; but if I would not quit the ſhip, or the captain oblige me to quit it, they would all leave the ſhip, and ſail no farther with him; and at that word, ALL, he turned his face toward the mainmaſt, which was, it ſeems, the ſignal agreed on between them; at which all the ſeamen, being got together, there cried out, ONE and ALL! ONE and ALL!

My nephew, the captain, was a man of ſpirit, and of great preſence of mind; and though he was ſurprized, you may be ſure, at the thing, yet he told them calmly, that he would conſider of the matter; but that he could do nothing in it till he had ſpoken to me about it. He uſed ſome arguments with them, to ſhew them the unreaſonableneſs and injuſtice of the thing; but it was all in vain; they ſwore, and ſhook hands round before his face, that they would all go on ſhore, unleſs he would engage to them not to ſuffer me to come any more on board the ſhip.

This was a hard article upon him, who knew his obligation to me; and did not know how I might take it: ſo he began to talk ſmartly to them; told them that I was a very conſiderable owner of the ſhip, and that, in juſtice, he could not put me out of my own houſe; that this was next door to ſerving me as the famous pirate Kidd had done, who made a mutiny in the ſhip, ſet the captain on ſhore on an uninhabited iſland, and ran away with the ſhip: that let them go into what ſhip they would, if ever they came to England again, it would coſt them very dear; that the ſhip was mine, and that he could not put me out of it; and that he would rather loſe the ſhip and the voyage too, than diſoblige me ſo much; ſo they might do as they pleaſed: however, he would go on ſhore and talk with me, and

invited

invited the boatſwain to go with him, and perhaps they might accommodate the matter with me.

But they all rejected the propoſal, and ſaid they would have nothing to do with me any more; and if I came on board, they would all go on ſhore. Well, ſaid the captain, if you are all of this mind, let me go on ſhore and talk with him: So away he came to me with this account, a little after the meſſage had been brought to me from the cockſwain.

I was very glad to ſee my nephew, I muſt confeſs; for I was not without apprehenſions that they would confine him by violence, ſet ſail, and run away with the ſhip; and then I had been ſtripped naked in a remote country, having nothing to help myſelf; in ſhort, I had been in a worſe caſe than when I was all alone in the iſland.

But they had not come that length, it ſeems, to my ſatisfaction; and when my nephew told me what they had ſaid to him, and how they had ſworn, and ſhook hands, that they would, one and all, leave the ſhip, if I was ſuffered to come on board; I told him, he ſhould not be concerned at it at all, for I would ſtay on ſhore: I only deſired he would take care and ſend me all my neceſſary things on ſhore, and leave me a ſufficient ſum of money, and I would find my way to England as well as I could.

This was a heavy piece of news to my nephew, but there was no way to help it but to comply: ſo, in ſhort, he went on board the ſhip again, and ſatisfied the men that his uncle had yielded to their importunity, and had ſent for his goods from on board the ſhip; ſo that matter was over in a few hours, the men returned to their duty, and I began to conſider what courſe I ſhould ſteer.

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I was now alone in the remoteſt part of the world, as I think I may call it, for I was near three thouſand leagues by ſea farther off from England than I was at my iſland; only, it is true, I might travel here by land, over the Great Mogul's country to Surat, might go from thence to Baſſora by ſea, up the gulph of Perſia, and take the way of the caravans over the Deſart of Arabia, to Aleppo and Scanderoon; from thence by ſea again to Italy, and ſo over-land into France; and this put together, might at leaſt be a full diameter of the globe, or more.

I had another way before me, which was to wait for ſome Engliſh ſhips, which were coming to Bengal from Achin, on the iſland of Sumatra, and get paſſage on board them for England. But as I came hither without any concern with the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company, ſo it would be difficult to go from hence without their licence, unleſs with great favour of the captains of the ſhips, or the Company's factors, and to both I was an utter ſtranger.

Here I had the mortification to ſee the ſhip ſet ſail without me; a treatment I think a man in my circumſtances ſcarce ever met with, except when pirates running away with the ſhip, and ſetting thoſe that would not agree with their villainy on ſhore. Indeed this was next door to it, both ways; however, my nephew left me two ſervants, or rather, one companion and one ſervant; the firſt was clerk to the purſer, whom he engaged to go with me, and the other was his own ſervant. I took me alſo a good lodging in the houſe of an Engliſhwoman, where ſeveral merchants lodged, ſome French, two Italians, or rather Jews, and one Engliſhman; here I was handſomely enough entertained: and

that I might not be ſaid to run raſhly upon any thing, I ſtayed here above nine months, conſidering what courſe to take, and how to manage myſelf. I had ſome Engliſh goods with me of value, and a conſiderable ſum of money, my nephew furniſhing me with a thouſand pieces of eight, and a letter of credit for more, if I had occaſion, that I might not be ſtraitened, whatever might happen.

I quickly diſpoſed of my goods to advantage, and, as I originally intended, I bought here ſome very good diamonds, which, of all other things, were the moſt proper for me, in my preſent circumſtances; becauſe I might always carry my whole eſtate about me.

After a long ſtay here, and many propoſals made for my return to England, but none falling out to my mind, the Engliſh merchant who lodged with me, and whom I had contracted an intimate acquaintance with, came to me one morning. Countryman, ſays he, I have a project to communicate to you, which, as it ſuits with my thoughts, may, for ought I know, ſuit with your's alſo, when you ſhall have thoroughly conſidered it. Here we are poſted, ſays he, you by accident, and I by my own choice, in a part of the world very remote from our own country; but it is in a country, where, by us who underſtand trade and buſineſs, a great deal of money is to be got. If you will put 1000l. to my 1000l. we will hire a ſhip here, the firſt we can get to our minds; you ſhall be captain, I'll be merchant, and we'll go a trading voyage to China: for what ſhould we ſtand ſtill for? The whole world is in motion, rolling round and round; all the creatures of God, heavenly bodies and earthly, are buſy and diligent; why ſhould we be idle? There are no drones in the world but men; why ſhould we be of that number?

I liked

I liked this propoſal very well, and the more becauſe it ſeemed to be expreſſed with ſo much good-will, and in ſo friendly a manner. I will not ſay, but that I might, by my looſe, unhinged circumſtances, be the fitter to embrace a propoſal for trade, or indeed any thing elſe; whereas, otherwiſe, trade was none of my element. However, I might perhaps ſay, with ſome truth, that if trade was not my element, rambling was, and no propoſal for ſeeing any part of the world which I had never ſeen before, could poſſibly come amiſs to me.

It was, however, ſome time before we could get a ſhip to our minds, and when we had got a veſſel, it was not eaſy to get Engliſh ſailors; that is to ſay, ſo many as were neceſſary to govern the voyage and manage the ſailors which we ſhould pick up there. After ſome time we got a mate, a boatſwain, and a gunner, Engliſh; a Dutch carpenter, and three foremaſt-men. With theſe we found we could do well enough, having Indian ſeamen, ſuch as they were, to make up.

There are ſo many travellers who have wrote the hiſtory of their voyages and travels this way, that it would be very little diverſion to any body, to give a long account of the places we went to, and the people who inhabit there; theſe things I leave to others, and refer the reader to thoſe journals and travels of Engliſhmen, of which many, I find, are publiſhed, and more promiſed every day; 'tis enough for me to tell you, that we made this voyage to Achin, in the iſland of Sumatra, and from thence to Siam, where we exchanged ſome of our wares for opium, and ſome arrack; the firſt, a commodity which bears a great price among the Chineſe, and which, at that time, was much wanted there. In a

word, we went up to Suſkan, made a very great voyage, were eight months out, and returned to Bengal; and I was very well ſatisfied with my adventure. I obſerve, that our people in England often admire how the officers which the Company ſend into India, and the merchants which generally ſtay there, get ſuch very great eſtates as they do, and ſometimes come home worth ſixty or ſeventy thouſand pounds at a time; but it is no wonder, or at leaſt we ſhall ſee ſo much farther into it, when we conſider the innumerable ports and places where they have a free commerce, that it will be none; and much leſs it will be ſo, when we conſider, that at thoſe places and ports where the Engliſh ſhips come, there is ſuch great and conſtant demands for the growth of all other countries, that there is a certain vent for the returns, as well as a market abroad for the goods carried out.

In ſhort, we made a very good voyage, and I got ſo much money by my firſt adventure, and ſuch an inſight into the method of getting more, that had I been twenty years younger, I ſhould have been tempted to have ſtayed here, and ſought no further for making my fortune; but what was all this to a man upwards of threeſcore, that was rich enough, and came abroad more in obedience to a reſtleſs deſire of ſeeing the world, than a covetous deſire of getting in it? And, indeed, I think 'tis with great juſtice I now call it reſtleſs deſire, for it was ſo. When I was at home, I was reſtleſs to go abroad; and when I was abroad, I was reſtleſs to be at home. I ſay, what was this gain to me? I was rich enough already, nor had I any uneaſy deſires about getting more money; and therefore the profit of the voyage to me was of no great force, for the prompting me forward to farther under-

undertakings; hence I thought that by this voyage I had made no progreſs at all, becauſe I was come back, as I might call it, to the place from whence I came, as to a home: whereas my eye, which, like that which Solomon ſpeaks of, was never ſatisfied with ſeeing, was ſtill more deſirous of wandering and ſeeing. I was come into a part of the world which I was never in before, and that part, in particular, which I had heard much of, and was reſolved to ſee as much of it as I could, and then I thought I might ſay I had ſeen all the world that was worth ſeeing.

But my fellow traveller and I had different notions: I do not name this to inſiſt on my own, for I acknowledge his were the moſt juſt, and the moſt ſuited to the end of a merchant's life; who, when he is abroad upon adventures, it is his wiſdom to ſtick to that, as the beſt thing for him, which he is like to get the moſt money by. My new friend kept himſelf to the nature of the thing, and would have been content to have gone, like a carrier's horſe, always to the ſame inn, backward and forward, provided he could, as he called it, find his account in it. On the other hand, mine was the notion of a mad, rambling boy, that never cares to ſee a thing twice over. But this was not all; I had a kind of impatience upon me to be nearer home, and yet the moſt unſettled reſolution imaginable, which way to go. In the interval of theſe conſultations, my friend, who was always upon the ſearch for buſineſs, propoſe another voyage to me among the Spice iſlands, and to bring home a loading of cloves from the Manillas, or thereabouts; places where, indeed, the Dutch do trade, but iſlands belonging partly to the Spaniards; though we

went not ſo far, but to ſome other where they have not the whole power, as they have at Batavia, Ceylon, &c.

We were not long in preparing for this voyage; the chief difficulty was in bringing me to come into it: however, at laſt, nothing elſe offering, and finding that really ſtirring about and trading, the profit being ſo great, and, as I may ſay, certain, had more pleaſure in it, and had more ſatisfaction to my mind, than ſitting ſtill, which, to me eſpecially, was the unhappieſt part of life; I reſolved on this voyage too, which we made very ſucceſsfully, touching at Borneo, and ſeveral iſlands whoſe names I do not remember, and came home in about five months. We ſold our ſpice, which was chiefly cloves, and ſome nutmegs, to the Perſian merchants, who carried them away for the Gulph; and making near five of one, we really got a great deal of money.

My friend, when we made up this account, ſmiled at me: Well now, ſaid he, with a ſort of agreeable inſult upon my indolent temper, is not this better than walking about here, like a man of nothing to do, and ſpending our time in ſtaring at the nonſenſe and ignorance of the Pagans? Why truly, ſays I, my friend, I think it is, and I begin to be a convert to the principles of merchandizing; but I muſt tell you, ſaid I, by the way, you do not know what I am doing; for if I once conquer my backwardneſs, and embark heartily, as old as I am, I ſhall harraſs you up and down the world, 'till I tire you; for I ſhall purſue it ſo eagerly, I ſhall never let you lie ſtill.

But, to be ſhort with my ſpeculations, a little while after this, there came in a Dutch ſhip from Batavia; ſhe was a coaſter, not an European trader, of about two hundred

hundred tons burthen; the men, as they pretended, having been ſo ſickly, that the captain had not hands enough to go to ſea with; he lay by at Bengal: and having, it ſeems, got money enough, or being willing, for other reaſons, to go for Europe, he gave public notice he would ſell his ſhip. This came to my ears before my new partner heard of it, and I had a great mind to buy it; ſo I went to him, and told him of it. He conſidered awhile, for he was no raſh man neither; but muſing ſome time, he replied, She is a little too big; but however, we will have her: accordingly we bought the ſhip, and agreeing with the maſter, we paid for her, and took poſſeſſion. When we had done ſo, we reſolved to entertain the men, if we could, to join them with thoſe we had, for the purſuing our buſineſs; but on a ſudden, they having received not their wages, but their ſhare of the money, (as we afterwards learnt) not one of them was to be found: we enquired much about them, and at length were told, that they were all gone together by land to Agra, the great city of the Mogul's reſidence, and from thence to travel to Surat, and go by ſea to the Gulph of Perſia.

Nothing had ſo heartily troubled me a good while, as that I miſſed the opportunity of going with them; for ſuch a ramble, I thought, and in ſuch company as would both have guarded and diverted me, would have ſuited mightily with my great deſign; and I ſhould both have ſeen the world, and gone homewards too: but I was much better ſatisfied a few days after, when I came to know what ſort of fellows they were: for, in ſhort, their hiſtory was, that this man they called captain, was the gunner only, not the commander; that they had been a trading voyage, in which they were attacked on ſhore by ſome of the Malays, who had killed the

captain and three of his men; and that after the captain was killed, theſe men, eleven in number, had reſolved to run away with the ſhip, which they did, and brought her to Bengal, leaving the mate and five men more on ſhore; of whom hereafter.

Well, let them get the ſhip how they would, we came honeſtly by her, as we thought, though we did not, I confeſs, examine into things ſo exactly as we ought; for we never enquired any thing of the ſeamen, who would certainly have faultered in their account, contradicted one another, and perhaps contradicted themſelves; or, one how or other, we ſhould have had reaſon to have ſuſpected them; but the man ſhewed us a bill of ſale for the ſhip, to one Emanuel Cloſterſhoven, or ſome ſuch name, for I ſuppoſe it was all a forgery, and called himſelf by that name, and we could not contradict him; and withal, having no ſuſpicion of the thing, we went through with our bargain.

We picked up ſome more Engliſh ſailors here after this, and ſome Dutch; and now we reſolved for a ſecond voyage to the ſouth-eaſt for cloves, &c. that is to ſay, among the Phillipine and Molucca iſles; and in ſhort, not to fill up this part of my ſtory with trifles, when what is to come is ſo remarkable, I ſpent, from firſt to laſt, ſix years in this country, trading from port to port, backward and forward, and with very good ſucceſs, and was now the laſt year with my new partner, going in the ſhip above mentioned, on a voyage to China, but deſigning firſt to Siam, to buy rice.

In this voyage, being by contrary winds obliged to beat up and down a great while in the ſtraits of Malacca, and among the iſlands, we were no ſooner got clear of thoſe difficult ſeas, but we found our ſhip had

ſprung

ſprung a leak, and we were not able, by all our induſtry, to find our where it was. This forced us to make ſome port; and my partner, who knew the country better than I did, directed the captain to put into the river of Cambodia, for I had made the Engliſh mate, one Mr. Thompſon, captain, not being willing to take the charge of the ſhip upon myſelf. This river lies on the north ſide of the great bay or gulph which goes up to Siam.

While we were here, and going often on ſhore for refreſhment, there comes to me one day an Engliſhman, and he was, is ſeems, a gunner's-mate on board an Engliſh Eaſt India ſhip which rode in the ſame river, up at, or near the city of Cambodia: what brought him hither we know not; but he comes to me, and ſpeaking Engliſh, Sir, ſays he, you are a ſtranger to me, and I to you, but I have ſomething to tell you that very nearly concerns you.

I looked ſtedfaſtly at him a good while, andthought at firſt I had known him, but I did not: If it very nearly concerns me, ſaid I, and not yourſelf, what moves you to tell it me? I am moved, ſays he, by the imminent danger you are in, and, for aught I ſee, you have no knowledge of it. I know no danger I am in, ſays I, but that my ſhip is leaky, and I cannot find it out; but I intend to lay her a-ground to-morrow, to ſee if I can find it. But, Sir, ſays he, leaky or not leaky, find it or not find it, you will be wiſer than to lay your ſhip on ſhore to-morrow, when you hear what I have to ſay to you: do you know, Sir, ſaid he, the town of Cambodia lies about fifteen leagues up this river? And there are two large Engliſh ſhips about five leagues on this ſide, and three Dutch. Well, ſaid I, and what is that to me? Why, Sir, ſaid he, is it for a man that is

upon ſuch adventures as you are, to come into a port and not examine firſt what ſhips there are there, and whether he is able to deal with them? I ſuppoſe you do not think you are a match for them? I was amuſed very much at his diſcourſe, but not amazed at it, for I could not conceive what he meant; and I turned ſhort upon him, and ſaid, Sir, I wiſh you would explain yourſelf; I cannot imagine what reaſon I have to be afraid of any of the Company's ſhips, or Dutch ſhips: I am no interloper, what can they have to ſay to me?

He looked like a man half angry, and half pleaſed, and pauſing awhile, but ſmiling, Well, Sir, ſays he, if you think yourſelf ſecure, you muſt take your chance; I am ſorry your fate ſhould blind you againſt good advice; but aſſure yourſelf, if you do not put to ſea immediately, you will, the very next tide, be attacked by five long-boats full of men, and perhaps, if you are taken, you will be hanged for a pirate, and the particulars be examined afterwards: I thought, Sir, added he, I ſhould have met with a better reception than this, for doing you a piece of ſervice of ſuch importance. I can never be ungrateful, ſaid I, for any ſervice, or to any man that offers me any kindneſs; but it is paſt my comprehenſion, ſaid I, what they ſhould have ſuch a deſign upon me for: however, ſince you ſay there is no time to be loſt, and that there is ſome villainous deſign in hand againſt me, I will go on board this minute, and put to ſea immediately, if my men can ſtop the leak, or if we can ſwim without ſtopping it: but, Sir, ſaid I, ſhall I go away ignorant of the cauſe of all this? Can you give me no further light into it?

I can tell you but part of the ſtory, Sir, ſays he, but I have a Dutch ſeaman here with me, and I believe I could

could perſuade him to tell you the reſt; but there is ſcarce time for it: but the ſhort of the ſtory is this, the firſt part of which, I ſuppoſe, you know well enough, viz. that you was with this ſhip at Sumatra; that there your captain was murdered by the Malays, with three of his men; and that you, or ſome of thoſe that were on board with you, ran away with the ſhip, and are ſince turned pirates. This is the ſum of the ſtory, and you will all be ſeized as pirates, I can aſſure you, and executed with very little ceremony; for, you know, merchant ſhips ſhew but little law to pirates, if they get them into their power.

Now you ſpeak plain Engliſh, ſaid I, and I thank you; and though I know nothing that we have done, like what you talk of, for I am ſure we came honeſtly and fairly by the ſhip; yet ſeeing ſuch work is a doing, as you ſay, and that you ſeem to mean honeſtly, I will be upon my guard. Nay, Sir, ſays he, do not talk of being upon your guard; the beſt defence is to be out of the danger; if you have any regard for your life, and the lives of all your men, put to ſea, without fail, at high water; and as you have a whole tide before you, you will be gone too far out before they can come down; for they will come away at high water, and as they have twenty miles to come, you will get near two hours of them by the difference of the tide, not reckoning the length of the way; beſides, as they are only boats, and not ſhips, they will not venture to follow you far out to ſea, eſpecially if it blows.

Well, ſaid I, you have been very kind in this; what ſhall I do for you to make you amends? Sir, ſays he, you may not be willing to make me any amends, becauſe you may not be convinced of the truth of it; I

will

will make an offer to you: I have nineteen months pay due to me on board the ſhip,——, which I came out of England in; and the Dutchman that is with me, has ſeven months pay due to him; if you will make good our pay to us, we will go along with you: if you find nothing more in it, we will deſire no more; but if we do convince you that we have ſaved your lives, and the ſhip, and the lives of all the men in her, we will leave the reſt to you.

I conſented to this readily, and went immediately on board, and the two men with me. As ſoon as I came to the ſhip's ſide, my partner, who was on board, came out on the quarter-deck, and called to me, with a great deal of joy, O ho! O ho! we have ſtopped the leak! we have ſtopped the leak! Say you ſo, ſaid I, thank God; but weigh anchor then immediately. Weigh! ſays he, What do you mean by that? What is the matter? ſays he. Aſk no queſtions, ſaid I; but all hands to work, and weigh without loſing a minute. He was ſurprized, but however, he called the captain, and he immediately ordered the anchor to be got up; and though the tide was not quite done, yet a little land breeze blowing, we ſtood out to ſea. Then I called him into the cabin, and told him the ſtory; and we called in the men, and they told us the reſt of it; but as it took up a great deal of time, before we had done, a ſeaman comes to the cabin-door, and called out to us, that the captain bade him tell us we were chaſed: Chaſed, ſays I; by what? By five ſloops, or boats, ſays the fellow, full of men. Very well, ſaid I; then it is apparent there is ſomething in it. In the next place, I ordered all our men to be called up, and told them there was a deſign to ſeize the ſhip, and to take us for pirates,

and

aſked them if they would ſtand by us, and by one another; the men anſwered cheerfully, one and all, that they would live and die with us. Then I aſked the captain what way he thought beſt for us to manage a fight with them; for reſiſt them I was reſolved we would, and that to the laſt drop. He ſaid readily, that the way was, to keep them off with our great ſhot, as long as we could, and then to fire at them with our ſmall arms, to keep them from boarding us; but when neither of theſe would do any longer, we ſhould retire to our cloſe quarters; perhaps they had not materials to break open our bulk-heads, or get in upon us.

The gunner had, in the mean time, orders to bring two guns to bear fore and aft, out of the ſteerage, to clear the deck, and load them with muſket-bullets and ſmall pieces of old iron, and what came next to hand; and thus we made ready for fight: but all this while we kept out to ſea, with wind enough, and could ſee the boats at a diſtance, being five large long-boats, following us with all the ſail they could make.

Two of thoſe boats (which by our glaſſes we could ſee were Engliſh) out-ſailed the reſt, were near two leagues a-head of them, and gained upon us conſiderably, ſo that we found they would come up with us; upon which we fired a gun without ball, to intimate that they ſhould bring to; and we put out a red flag of truce, as a ſignal for parley; but they came crouding after us till they came within ſhot, when we took in our white flag, they having made no anſwer to it, hung out our red flag, and fired at them with a ſhot. Notwithſtanding this, they came on 'till they were near enough to call to them with a ſpeaking trumpet which we had on board; ſo we called to them, and bade them keep off, at their peril.

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It was all one; they crouded after us, and endeavoured to come under our ſtern, ſo to board us on our quarter; upon which, ſeeing they were reſolute for miſchief, and depended upon the ſtrength that followed them, I ordered to bring the ſhip to, ſo that they lay upon our broadſide, when immediately we fired five guns at them, one of which had been levelled ſo true, as to carry away the ſtern of the hindermoſt boat, and bring them to the neceſſity of taking down their ſail, and running all to the head of the boat, to keep her from ſinking; ſo ſhe lay by, and had enough of it; but ſeeing the foremoſt boat croud on after us, we made ready to fire at her in particular.

While this was doing, one of the three boats that was behind, being forwarder than the other two, made up to the boat which we had diſabled, to relieve her, and we could ſee her take out the men: we called again to the foremoſt boat, and offered a truce. to parley again, and to know what her buſineſs was with us; but had no anſwer, only ſhe crouded cloſe under our ſtern: upon this our gunner, who was a very dexterous fellow, run out his two chaſe-guns, and fired again at her; but the ſhot miſſing, the men in the boat ſhouted, waved their caps, and came on; but the gunner getting quickly ready again, fired among them a ſecond time, one ſhot of which, though it miſſed the boat itſelf, yet fell in among the men, and we could eaſily ſee, had done a great deal of miſchief among them; but we taking no notice of that, weared the ſhip again, and brought our quarter to bear upon them, and firing three guns more, we found the boat was almoſt ſplit to pieces; in particular, her rudder and a piece of her ſtern was ſhot quite away; ſo they handed her ſail immediately, and were in great diſorder:

diſorder: but to complete their misfortune, our gunner let fly two guns at them again; where he hit them we could not tell, but we found the boat was ſinking, and ſome of the men already in the water: upon this I immediately manned out our pinnace, which we had kept cloſe by our ſide, with orders to pick up ſome of the men, if they could, and ſave them from drowning, and immediately come on board the ſhip with them, becauſe we ſaw the reſt of the boats began to come up. Our men in the pinnace followed their orders, and took up three men, one of whom was juſt drowning, and it was a good while before we could recover him. As ſoon as they were on board, we crouded all the ſail we could make, and ſtood farther out to ſea; and we found that when the other three boats came up to the firſt, they gave over their chaſe.

Being thus delivered from a danger, which, though I knew not the reaſon of it, yet ſeemed to be much greater than I apprehended, I took that we ſhould change our courſe, and not let any one know whither we were going: ſo we ſtood out to ſea eaſtward, quite out of the courſe of all European ſhips, whether they were bound to China, or any where elſe, within the commerce of the European nations.

When we were at ſea, we began to conſult with the two ſeamen, and enquire firſt, what the meaning of all this ſhould be; and the Dutchman let us into the ſecret at once, telling us, that the fellow that ſold us the ſhip, as we ſaid, was no more than a thief, that had run away with her. Then he told us how the captain, whoſe name too he told us, though I do not remember it now, was treacherouſly murdered by the natives on the coaſt of Malacca, with three of his men; and that he, this

Dutchman,

Dutchman, and four more, got into the woods, where they wandered about a great while, till at length he in particular, in a miraculous manner made his eſcape, and ſwam off to a Dutch ſhip, which ſailing near the ſhore in its way from China, had ſent their boat on ſhore for freſh water; that he durſt not come to that part of the ſhore where the boat was, but made ſhift in the night to take the water farther off, and ſwimming a great while, at laſt the ſhip's boat took him up.

He then told us that he went to Batavia, where two of the ſeamen belonging to the ſhip arrived, having deſerted the reſt in their travels, and gave an account that the fellow who had run away with the ſhip, ſold her at Bengal to a ſet of pirates, which were gone a cruizing in her; and that they had already taken an Engliſh ſhip and two Dutch ſhips very richly laden.

This latter part was found to concern us directly, though we knew it to be falſe; yet, as my partner ſaid very juſtly, if we had fallen into their hands, and they had had ſuch a prepoſſeſſion againſt us before-hand, it had been in vain for us to have defended ourſelves, or to hope for any good quarter at their hands, and eſpecially conſidering that our accuſers had been our judges, and that we could have expected nothing from them but what rage would have dictated, and an ungoverned paſſion have executed; and therefore it was his opinion we ſhould go directly back to Bengal, from whence we came, without putting in at any port whatever; becauſe there we could give a good account of ourſelves, could prove where we were when the ſhip put in, of whom we bought her, and the like; and, which was more than all the reſt, if we were put upon the neceſſity of bringing it before the proper judges, we ſhould be ſure

to

to have ſome juſtice, and not to be hanged firſt, and judged afterwards.

I was ſome time of my partner's opinion; but after a little more ſerious thinking, I told him, I thought it was a very great hazard for us to attempt returning to Bengal, for that we were on the wrong ſide of the ſtraits of Malacca, and that if the alarm was given, we ſhould be ſure to be way-laid on every ſide, as well by the Dutch of Batavia, as the Engliſh elſewhere; that if we ſhould be taken, as it were, running away, we ſhould even condemn ourſelves, and there would want no more evidence to deſtroy us. I alſo aſked the Engliſh ſailor's opinion, who ſaid, he was of my mind, and that we ſhould certainly be taken. This danger a little ſtartled my partner, and all the ſhip's company, and we immediately reſolved to go away to the coaſt of Tonquin, and ſo on to the coaſt of China; and, purſuing the firſt deſign as to trade, find ſome way or other to diſpoſe of the ſhip, and come back in ſome of the veſſels of the country, ſuch as we could get. This was approved of as the beſt method for our ſecurity; and accordingly we ſteered away N. N. E. keeping above fifty leagues off from the uſual courſe to the eaſtward. This, however, put us to ſome inconvenience; for firſt the winds, when we came to that diſtanee from the ſhore, ſeemed to be more ſteadily againſt us, blowing almoſt trade, as we call it, from the E. and E. N. E. ſo that we were a along while upon our voyage, and we were but ill provided with victuals for ſo long a run; and, which was ſtill worſe, there was ſome danger that thoſe Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, whoſe boats purſued us, whereof ſome were bound that way, might be got in before us, and if not, ſome other ſhip bound to China might

have information of us from them, and purſue us with the ſame vigour.

I muſt confeſs, I was now very uneaſy, and thought myſelf, including the late eſcape from the long-boats, to have been in the moſt dangerous condition that ever I was in through all my paſt life; for whatever ill circumſtances I had been in, I was never purſued for a thief before; nor had I ever done any thing that merited the name of diſhoneſt or fraudulent, much leſs thieviſh; I had chiefly been my own enemy, or as I may rightly ſay, I had been nobody's enemy but my own; but now I was embarraſſed in the worſt condition imaginable; for though I was perfectly innocent, I was in no condition to make that innocence appear; and if I had been taken, it had been under a ſuppoſed guilt of the worſt kind.

This made me very anxious to make an eſcape, though which way to do it I knew not, or what port or place we could go to. My partner ſeeing me thus dejected, though he was the moſt concerned at firſt, began to encourage me, and deſcribing to me the ſeveral ports of that coaſt, told me he would put in on the coaſt of Cochin China, or the bay of Tonquin, intending to go afterwards to Macao, a town once in poſſeſſion of the Portugueſe, and where ſtill a great many European families reſided, and particularly the miſſionary prieſts uſually went thither, in order to their going forward to China.

Hither then we reſolved to go; and accordingly, though after a tedious and irregular courſe, and very much ſtraitened for proviſions, we came within ſight of the coaſt very early in the morning; and upon reflection upon the paſt circumſtances we were in, and the danger

get if we had not eſcaped, we reſolved to put into a ſmall river, which, however, had depth enough of water for us, and to ſee if we could either over land, or by the ſhip's pinnace, come to know what ſhips were in any port thereabouts. This happy ſtep was indeed our deliverance, for though we did not immediately ſee any European ſhips in the bay of Tonquin, yet the next morning there came into the bay two Dutch ſhips, and a third without any colours ſpread out, but which we believed to be a Dutchman, paſſed by at about two leagues diſtance, ſteering for the coaſt of China; and in the afternoon went by two Engliſh ſhips ſteering the ſame courſe; and thus we thought we ſaw ourſelves beſet with enemies both one way and the other. The place we were in was wild and barbarous, the people thieves, even by occupation or profeſſion; and, though it is true, we had not much to ſeek of them, and except getting a few proviſions, cared not how little we had to do with them, yet it was with much difficulty that we kept ourſelves from being inſulted by them ſeveral ways. We were in a ſmall river of this country, within a few leagues of its utmoſt limits northward; and by our boat we coaſted north-eaſt to the point of land which opens the great bay of Tonquin; and it was in this beating up along the ſhore that we diſcovered as above, that we were ſurrounded with enemies. The people we were among, were the moſt barbarous of all the inhabitants of the coaſt, having no correſpondence with any other nation, and dealing only in fiſh and oil, and ſuch groſs commodities; and it may be particularly ſeen, that they are the moſt barbarous of any of the inhabitants. Among other cuſtoms they have this one, viz. that if any veſſel has the misfortune

to be ſhipwrecked upon their coaſt, they preſently make the men all priſoners, or ſlaves; and it was not long before we found a ſpice of their kindneſs this way, on the occaſion following.

I have obſerved above, that our ſhip ſprung a leak at ſea, and that we could not find it out: and however, it happened that, as I have ſaid, it was ſtopped unexpectedly, in the happy minute of our being to be ſeized by the Dutch and Engliſh ſhips in the bay of Siam; yet, as we did not find the ſhip ſo perfectly tight and ſound as we deſired, we reſolved, while we were at this place, to lay her on ſhore, and take out what heavy things we had on board, and to clean her bottom; and, if poſſible, to find out where the leaks were.

Accordingly, having lightened the ſhip, and brought all our guns, and other moveables, to one ſide, we tryed to bring her down, that we might come at her bottom; but on ſecond thoughts, we did not care to lay her on dry ground, neither could we find out a proper place for it.

The inhabitants, who had never been acquainted with ſuch a ſight, came wondering down the ſhore to look at us; and ſeeing the ſhip lie down on one ſide in ſuch a manner, and heeling in towards the ſhore, and not ſeeing our men, who were at work on her bottom with ſtages, and with their boats on the off ſide, they preſently concluded, that the ſhip was caſt away, and lay ſo faſt on the ground.

On this ſuppoſition they all came about us in two or three hours time, with ten or twelve large boats, having ſome of them eight, ſome ten men in a boat, intending, no doubt, to have come on board and plundered the ſhip; and if they had found us there, to have carried

carried us away for ſlaves to their King, or whatever they call him, for we knew nothing of their governor.

When they came up to the ſhip and began to row round her, they diſcovered us all hard at work on the outſide of the ſhip's bottom and ſide, waſhing, and graving, and ſtopping, as every ſeafaring man knows how.

They ſtood for a while gazing at us, and we, who were a little ſurprized, could not imagine what their deſign was; but being willing to be ſure, we took this opportunity to get ſome of us into the ſhip, and others to hand down arms and ammunition to thoſe that were at work, to defend themſelves with, if there ſhould be occaſion; and it was no more than need, for in leſs than a quarter of an hour's conſultation, they agreed, it ſeems, that the ſhip was really a wreck; and that we were all at work endeavouring to ſave her, or to ſave our lives by the help of our boats; and when we handed our arms into the boats, they concluded, by that motion, that we were endeavouring to ſave ſome of our goods; upon this they took it for granted we all belonged to them, and away they came directly upon our men, as if it had been in a line of battle.

Our men ſeeing ſo many of them, began to be frightened, for we lay but in an ill poſture to fight, and cried out to us to know what they ſhould do: I immediately called to the men that worked upon the ſtages, to ſlip them down, and get up the ſide into the ſhip; and bade thoſe in the boat to row round, and come on board; and thoſe few of us who were on board, worked with all the ſtrength and hands we had, to bring the ſhip to rights; but, however, neither the men upon the ſtages, nor thoſe in the boats, could do as they were ordered

before the Cochin-Chineſe were upon them; and two of their boats boarded our long-boat, and began to lay hold of the men as their priſoners

The firſt man they laid hold of, was an Engliſh ſeaman, a ſtout, ſtrong fellow, who having a muſket in his hand, never offered to fire it, but laid it down in the boat, like a fool, as I thought; but he underſtood his buſineſs better than I could teach him, for he grappled the Pagan, and dragged him by main force out of their boat into ours, where, taking him by the ears, he beat his head ſo againſt the boat's gunnel, that the fellow died in his hands; and in the mean time, a Dutchman, who ſtood next, took up the muſket, and, with the butt-end of it, ſo laid about him, that he knocked down five of them who attempted to enter the boat. But this was doing little towards reſiſting thirty or forty men, who fearleſs, becauſe ignorant of their danger, began to throw themſelves into the long-boat, where we had but five men in all to defend it; but the following accident, which deſerved our laughter, gave our men a complete victory.

Our carpenter being preparing to grave the outſide of the ſhip, as well as to pay the ſeams where he had caulked her to ſtop the leaks, had got two kettles juſt let down into the boat; one filled with boiling pitch, and the other with roſin, tallow, and oil, and ſuch ſtuff as the ſhipwrights uſe for that work; and the man that attended the carpenter, had a great iron ladle in his hand, with which he ſupplied the men that were at work with the hot ſtuff; two of the enemy's men entered the boat juſt where this fellow ſtood, being in the fore-ſheets; he immediately ſaluted them with a ladle full of the ſtuff, boiling hot, which ſo burned and ſcalded them,

being

being half naked, that they roared out like bulls, and enraged with the fire, leaped both into the ſea. The carpenter ſaw it, and cried out, Well done, Jack! give them ſome more of it; and ſtepping forward himſelf, takes one of the mops, and dipping it in the pitch-pot, he and his man threw it among them ſo plentifully, that, in ſhort, of all the men in the three boats, there was not one that eſcaped being ſcalded and burned with it, in a moſt frightful, pitiful manner; and made ſuch a howling and crying, that I never heard a worſe noiſe: for it is worth obſerving, that though pain naturally makes all people cry out, yet every nation has a particular way of exclamation, and makes noiſes as different from one another as their ſpeech. I cannot give the noiſe theſe creatures made, a better name than howling, nor a name more proper to the tone of it; for I never heard any thing more like the noiſe of the wolves, which, as I have ſaid, I heard howl in the foreſt on the frontiers of Languedoc.

I was never better pleaſed with a victory in my life; not only as it was a perfect ſurprize to me, and that our danger was imminent before, but, as we got this victory without any blood-ſhed, except of that man the fellow killed with his naked hands, and which I was very much concerned at; for I was ſick of killing ſuch poor ſavage wretches, even though it was in my own defence, knowing they came on errands which they thought juſt, and knew no better: and that though it may be a juſt thing, becauſe neceſſary, (for there is no neceſſary wickedneſs in nature,) yet I thought it was a ſad life, when we muſt be always obliged to be killing our fellow creatures, to preſerve ourſelves; and indeed, I think ſo ſtill, and I would

even now ſuffer a great deal, rather than I would take away the life even of the worſt perſon injuring me; and I believe all conſidering people who know the value of life would be of my opinion, if they entered ſeriouſly into the conſideration of it.

But to return to my ſtory, all the while this was doing, my partner and I, who managed the reſt of the men on board, had with great dexterity brought the ſhip almoſt to rights, and having gotten the guns into their places again, the gunner called to me to bid our boat get out of the way, for he would let fly among them. I called back again to him, and bid him not offer to fire, for the carpenter would do the work without him, but bid him heat another pitch kettle, which our cook, who was on board, took care of: but the enemy was ſo terrified with what they had met with in their firſt attack, that they would not come on again; and ſome of them who were fartheſt off, ſeeing the ſhip ſwim, as it were upright, began, as we ſuppoſe, to ſee their miſtake, and give over the enterprize, finding it was not as they expected. Thus we got clear of this merry fight, and having gotten ſome rice, and ſome roots and bread, with about ſixteen hogs on board two days before, we reſolved to ſtay here no longer, but go forward, whatever came of it; for we made no doubt but we ſhould be ſurrounded the next day with rogues enough, perhaps more than our pitch-kettle would diſpoſe of for us.

We therefore got all our things on board the ſame evening, and the next morning were ready to ſail: in the mean time, lying at anchor at ſome diſtance from the ſhore, we were not ſo much concerned, being now in a fighting poſture, as well as in a ſailing poſture, if any enemy had preſented. The next day, having finiſhed our work

work within board, and finding our ſhip was perfectly healed of all her leaks, we ſet ſail. We would have gone into the bay of Tonquin, for we wanted to inform ourſelves of what was to be known concerning the Dutch ſhips that had been there, but we durſt not ſtand in there, becauſe we had ſeen ſeveral ſhips go in, as we ſuppoſed, but a little before; ſo we kept on N. E. towards the iſland of Formoſa, as much afraid of being ſeen by a Dutch or Engliſh merchant ſhip, as a Dutch, or Engliſh merchant ſhip in the Mediterranean is of an Algerine man of war.

When we were thus got to ſea, we kept on N. E. as if we would go to the Manillas or the Philippine iſlands, and this we did, that we might not fall into the way of any of the European ſhips, and then we ſteered north, till we came to the latitude of 22 deg. 30 min. by which means we made the iſland Formoſa directly, where we came to an anchor, in order to get water and freſh proviſions, which the people there, who are very courteous and civil in their manners, ſupplied us with willingly, and dealt very fairly and punctually with us in all their agreements and bargains, which is what we did not find among other people, and may be owing to the remains of chriſtianity, which was once planted here by a Dutch miſſionary of Proteſtants, and is a teſtimony of what I have often obſerved, viz. That the chriſtian religion always civilizes the people and reforms their manners, where it is received, whether it works ſaving effects upon them or no.

From thence we ſailed ſtill north, keeping the coaſt of China at an equal diſtance, till we knew we were beyond all the ports of China, where our European ſhips uſually come; being reſolved, if poſſible, not to

fall into any of their hands, eſpecially in this country; where, as our circumſtances were, we could not fail of being entirely ruined.

Being now come to the latitude of 30 deg. we reſolved to put into the firſt trading port we ſhould come at; and ſtanding in for the ſhore, a boat came off two leagues to us, with an old Portugueſe pilot on board, who knowing us to be an European ſhip, came to offer his ſervice, which indeed, we were glad of, and took him on board; upon which, without aſking us whither we would go, he diſmiſſed the boat he came in, and ſent it back.

I thought it was now ſo much in our choice to make the old man carry us whither we would, that I began to talk to him about carrying us to the gulph of Nanquin, which is the moſt northern part of the coaſt of China. The old man ſaid, he knew the gulph of Nanquin very well, but ſmiling, aſked us, what we would do there?

I told him we would ſell our cargo and purchaſe China wares, callicoes, raw-ſilks, tea, wrought ſilks, &c. and ſo would return by the ſame courſe we came. He told us our beſt port had been to have put in at Macao, where we could not have failed of a market for our opium to our ſatisfaction, and might for our money have purchaſed all ſorts of China goods as cheap as we could at Nanquin.

Not being able to put the old man out of his talk, of which he was very opinionated or conceited, I told him we were gentlemen as well as merchants, and that we had a mind to go and ſee the great city of Peking, and the famous court of the monarch of China. Why then, ſays the old man, you ſhould go to Ningpo, where, by the river, which runs into the ſea there,

you

you may go up within five leagues of the great canal. This canal is a navigable ſtream, which goes through the heart of that vaſt empire of China, croſſes all the rivers, paſſes ſome conſiderable hills by the help of ſluices and gates, and goes up to the city of Peking, being in length near 270 leagues.

Well, ſaid I, Seignior Portugueſe, but that is not our buſineſs now; the great queſtion is, if you can carry us up to the city of Nanquin, from whence we can travel to Peking afterwards? Yes, yes, he ſaid, he could do ſo very well, and that there was a great Dutch ſhip gone up that way juſt before. This gave me a little ſhock, for a Dutch ſhip was now our terror, and we had much rather have met the devil, at leaſt if he had not come in too frightful a figure; and we depended upon it that a Dutch ſhip would be our deſtruction, for we were in no condition to fight them; all the ſhips they trade with into thoſe parts being of great burthen, and of much greater force than we were.

The old man found me a little confuſed, and under ſome concern when he named a Dutch ſhip, and ſaid to me, Sir, you need be under no apprehenſions of the Dutch, I ſuppoſe they are not now at war with your nation? No, ſays I, that's true, but I know not what liberties men may take when they are out of the reach of the laws of their own country. Why, ſays he, you are no pirates, what need you fear? They will not meddle with peaceable merchants ſure.

If I had any blood in my body that did not fly up into my face at that word, it was hindered by ſome ſtop in the veſſels appointed by nature to circulate it, for it put me into the greateſt diſorder and confuſion imaginable;

imaginable: nor was it poſſible for me to conceal it ſo, but the old man eaſily perceived it.

Sir, ſays he, I find you are in ſome diſorder in your thoughts at my talk; pray be pleaſed to go which way you think fit, and depend upon it, I'll do you all the ſervice I can. Why, Seignior, ſaid I, it is true, I am a little unſettled in my reſolution at this time, whither to go in particular; and I am ſomething more ſo for what you ſaid about pirates; I hope there are no pirates in theſe ſeas; we are but in an ill condition to meet with them, for you ſee we have but a ſmall force, and but very weakly manned.

O Sir, ſays he, don't be concerned, I do not know that there has been any pirates in theſe ſeas theſe fifteen years, except one, which was ſeen, as I hear, in the bay of Siam, about a month ſince; but you may be aſſured, ſhe is gone to the ſouthward; nor was ſhe a ſhip of any great force, or fit for the work; ſhe was not built for a privateer, but was run away with by a reprobate crew that was on board, after the captain and ſome of his men had been murdered by the Malayans, at or near the iſland of Sumatra.

What! ſaid I, ſeeming to know nothing of the matter, did they murder the captain? No, ſaid he, I don't underſtand that they murdered him, but as they afterwards run away with the ſhip, it is generally believed that they betrayed him into the hands of the Malayans, who did murder him; and perhaps they procured them to do it. Why then, ſaid I, they deſerve death as much as if they had done it themſelves. Nay, ſays the old man, they do deſerve it, and they will certainly have it, if they light upon any Engliſh

or Dutch ſhip; for they have all agreed together, that if they meet that rogue they'll give him no quarter.

But, ſaid I to him, you ſay the pirate is gone out of theſe ſeas, how can they meet with him then? Why that's true, ſays he, they do ſay ſo; but he was as I tell you, in the bay of Siam, in the river Cambodia, and was diſcovered there by ſome Dutchmen who belonged to the ſhip, and who were left on ſhore when they ran away with her; and ſome Engliſh and Dutch traders being in the river, they were within a little of taking him: nay, ſaid he, if the foremoſt boats had been well ſeconded by the reſt, they had certainly taken him; but he finding only two boats within reach of him, tacked about and fired at thoſe two and diſabled them, before the other came up, and then ſtanding off to ſea, the others were not able to follow him, and ſo he got away; but they have all ſo exact a deſcription of the ſhip, that they will be ſure to know her, and wherever they find her they have vowed to give no quarter either to the captain or ſeamen, but to hang them all up at the yard-arm.

What! ſays I, will they execute them right or wrong; hang them firſt and judge them afterwards? O Sir, ſays the old pilot, there is no need to make a formal buſineſs of it with ſuch rogues as thoſe; let them tie them back to back and ſet them a diving, 'tis no more than they deſerve.

I knew I had my old man faſt on board, and that he could do me no harm, ſo that I turned ſhort upon him: Well now, Seignior, ſaid I, this is the very reaſon why I would have you carry us up to Nanquin, and not put back to Macao, or to any other part of the country where the Engliſh or Dutch ſhips come; for be

be it known to you, Seignior, thoſe captains of the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, are a parcel of raſh, proud, inſolent fellows, that neither know what belongs to juſtice, or how to behave themſelves as the laws of God and nature direct; but being proud of their offices, and not underſtanding their power, they would act the murderers to puniſh robbers; would take upon them to inſult men falſely accuſed, and determine them guilty without due enquiry: and perhaps I may live to bring ſome of them to account for it, where they may be taught how juſtice is to be executed; and that no man ought to be treated as a criminal till ſome evidence may be had of the crime, and that he is the man.

With this I told him, that this was the very ſhip they attacked, and gave him a full account of the ſkirmiſh we had with their boats, and how fooliſhly and coward-like they behaved. I told him all the ſtory of our buying the ſhip, and how the Dutchman ſerved us. I told him the reaſons I had to believe the ſtory of killing the maſter by the Malayans was true, as alſo the running away with the ſhip; but it was all a fiction of their own to ſuggeſt that the men had turned pirates, and they ought to have been ſure it was ſo, before they had ventured to attack us by ſurpriſe, and oblige us to reſiſt them; adding, that they would have the blood of thoſe men, whom we killed there in our juſt defence, to anſwer for.

The old man was amazed at this relation, and told us we were very much in the right to go away to the north; and, that if he might adviſe us, it ſhould be to ſell the ſhip in China, which we might very well do, and buy or build another in the country; and, ſaid he, though you will not get ſo good a ſhip, yet you may

get

get one able enough to carry you and all your goods back again to Bengal, or any where elſe. I told him I would take his advice when I came to any port where I could find a ſhip for my turn, or get any cuſtomer to buy this. He replied, I ſhould meet with cuſtomers enough for the ſhip at Nanquin, and that a Chineſe jonk would ſerve me very well to go back again, and that he would procure me people both to buy one and ſell the other.

Well, but Seignior, ſays I, as you ſay they know the ſhip ſo well, I may perhaps, if I follow your meaſures, be inſtrumental to bring ſome honeſt, innocent men into a terrible broil, and perhaps to be murdered in cold blood; for wherever they find the ſhip, they will prove the guilt upon the men, by proving this was the ſhip, and ſo innocent men may probably be over-powered and murdered. Why, ſays the old man, I'll find out a way to prevent that alſo; for as I know all thoſe commanders you ſpeak of very well, and ſhall ſee them all as they paſs by, I will be ſure to ſet them to rights in the thing, and let them know that they had been ſo much in the wrong; that though the people who were on board at firſt might run away with the ſhip, yet it was not true that they had turned pirates: and that, in particular, theſe were not the men that firſt went off with the ſhip, but innocently bought her for their trade; and I am perſuaded they will ſo far believe me, as at leaſt to act more cautiouſly for the time to come.

While theſe things were paſſing between us, by way of diſcourſe, we went forward directly for Nanquin, and in about thirteen days ſail, came to an anchor at the ſouth-weſt point of the great gulph of Nanquin, where by

by the way, I came by accident to underſtand that two Dutch ſhips were gone the length before me, and that I ſhould certainly fall into their hands. I conſulted my partner again in this exigency, and he was as much at a loſs as I was, and would very gladly have been ſafe on ſhore almoſt any where: however, I was not in ſuch perplexity neither, but I aſked the old pilot, if there was no creek or harbour which I might put into and purſue my buſineſs with the Chineſe privately, and be in no danger of the enemy? He told me if I would ſail to the ſouthward about forty-two leagues, there was a little port called Quinchang, where the fathers of the miſſion uſually landed from Macao, on their progreſs to teach the chriſtian religion to the Chineſe, and where no European ſhips ever put in; and if I thought to put in there, I might conſider what father courſe to take when I was on ſhore. He confeſſed, he ſaid, it was not a place for merchants, except that at ſome certain times they had a kind of a fair there, when the merchants from Japan, came over thither to buy the Chineſe merchandizes.

We all agreed to go back to this place, the name of the port, as he called it, I may perhaps ſpell wrong, for I do not particularly remember it, having loſt this, together with the names of many other places ſet down in a little pocket-book which was ſpoiled by the water by an accident; but this I remember, that the Chineſe or Japaneſe merchants we correſponded with, called it by a different name from that which our Portugueze pilot gave it, and pronounced it as above, Quinchang.

As we were unanimous in our reſolution to go to this place, we weighed the next day, having only gone twice on ſhore where we were to get freſh water, on both

both which occaſions the people of the country were very civil to us, and brought us abundance of things to ſell to us; I mean of proviſions, plants, roots, tea, rice, and ſome fowls, but nothing without money.

We came to the other port (the wind being contrary) not till five days, but it was very much to our ſatisfaction; and I was joyful, and I may ſay thankful, when I ſet my foot on ſhore, reſolving, and my partner too, that if it was poſſible to diſpoſe of ourſelves and effects any other way, though not every way to our ſatisfaction, we would never ſet one foot on board that unhappy veſſel more, and indeed I muſt acknowledge, that of all the circumſtances of life that ever I had any experience of, nothing makes mankind ſo completely miſerable as that of being in conſtant fear. Well does the ſcripture ſay, the fear of man brings a ſnare; it is a life of death, and the mind is ſo entirely ſuppreſſed by it that it is capable of no relief.

Nor did it fail of its uſual operations upon the fancy, by heightening every danger, repreſenting the Engliſh and Dutch captains to be men incapable of hearing reaſon, or of diſtinguiſhing between honeſt men and rogues, or between a ſtory calculated for our own turn, made out of nothing on purpoſe to deceive, and a true genuine account of our whole voyage, progreſs and deſign; for we might many ways have convinced any reaſonable creature that we were not pirates; the goods we had on board, the courſe we ſteered, our frankly ſhewing ourſelves, and entering into ſuch and ſuch ports; and even our very manner, the force we had, the number of men, the few arms, little ammunition, ſhort proviſions; all theſe would have ſerved to convince any men that we were no pirates. The opium

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and other goods we had on board would make it appear the ſhip had been at Bengal. The Dutchmen, who it was ſaid, had the names of all the men that were in the ſhip, might eaſily ſee that we were a mixture of Engliſh, Portugueſe, and Indians, and but two Dutchmen on board. Theſe and many other particular circumſtances, might have made it evident to the underſtanding of any commander, whoſe hands we might fall into, that we were no pirates.

But fear, that blind, uſeleſs paſſion, worked another way, and threw us into the vapours; it bewildered our underſtandings, and ſet the imagination at work to form a thouſand terrible things that perhaps might never happen. We firſt ſuppoſed, as indeed every body had related to us, that the ſeamen on board the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, but eſpecially the Dutch, were ſo enraged at the name of a pirate, and eſpecially at our beating off their boats and eſcaping, that they would not give themſelves leave to enquire whether we were pirates or no, but would execute us off hand, as we call it, without giving us any room for a defence. We reflected, that there was really ſo much apparent evidence before them, that they would ſcarce enquire after any more; as firſt, that the ſhip was certainly the ſame, and that ſome of the ſeamen among them knew her and had been on board her; and ſecondly, that when we had intelligence at the river of Cambodia, that they were coming down to examine us, we fought their boats and fled; ſo that we made no doubt but they were as fully ſatisfied of our being pirates, as we were ſatisfied of the contrary; and, as I often ſaid, I know not but I ſhould have been apt to have taken thoſe circumſtances for evidence if the tables were turned, and my caſe

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was theirs, and have made no ſcruple of cutting all the crew to pieces, without believing, or perhaps conſidering, what they might have to offer in their defence.

But let that be how it will, theſe were our apprehenſions, and both my partner and I ſcarce ſlept a night without dreaming of halters and yard-arms, that is to ſay, gibbets; of fighting and being taken; of killing and being killed; and one night I was in ſuch a fury in my dream, fancying the Dutchmen had boarded us, and I was knocking one of their ſeamen down, that I ſtruck my double fiſt againſt the ſide of the cabin I lay in with ſuch a force, as wounded my hand grievouſly, broke my knuckles, and cut and bruiſed the fleſh; ſo that it awaked me out of my ſleep.

Another apprehenſion I had, was of the cruel uſage we might meet with from them, if we fell into their hands: then the ſtory of Amboyna came into my head, and how the Dutch might perhaps torture us, as they did our countrymen there, and make ſome of our men, by extremity of torture, confeſs thoſe crimes they never were guilty of, or own themſelves and all of us to be pirates, and ſo they would put us to death, with a formal appearance of juſtice; and that they might be tempted to do this for the gain of our ſhip and cargo, which was worth four or five thouſand pounds, put all together.

Theſe things tormented me and my partner too, night and day; nor did we conſider that the captains of ſhips have no authority to act thus; and if we had ſurrendered priſoners to them, they could not anſwer the deſtroying us, or torturing us, but would be accountable for it when they came to their own country; this, I ſay, gave me no ſatisfaction; for if they will act thus

with us, what advantage would it be to us that they ſhould be called to an account for it; or if we were firſt to be murdered, what ſatisfaction would it be to us, to have them puniſhed when they came home?

I cannot refrain taking notice here, what reflections I now had upon the vaſt variety of my particular circumſtances; how hard I thought it was, that I, who had ſpent forty years in a life of continued difficulties, and was at laſt come, as it were, to the port or haven which all men drive at, viz. to have reſt and plenty, ſhould be a volunteer in new ſorrows, by my own unhappy choice; and that I, who had eſcaped ſo many dangers in my youth, ſhould now come to be hanged in my old age, and in ſo remote a place, for a crime which I was not in the leaſt inclined to, much leſs guilty of.

After theſe thoughts, ſomething of religion would come in; and I ſhould be conſidering, that this ſeemed to me to be a diſpoſition of immediate Providence, and I ought to look upon it and ſubmit to it as ſuch; that, although I was innocent as to men, I was far from being innocent as to my Maker; and I ought to look in and examine what other crimes in my life were moſt obvious to me, and for which Providence might juſtly inflict this puniſhment as a retribution; and that I ought to ſubmit to this, juſt as I would to a ſhipwreck, if it had pleaſed God to have brought ſuch a diſaſter upon me.

In its turn, natural courage would ſometimes take its place, and then I would be talking myſelf up to vigorous reſolutions; that I would not be taken to be barbarouſly uſed by a parcel of mercileſs wretches in cold blood; that it were much better to have fallen into the hands of the ſavages, though I was ſure they would feaſt upon me, when they had taken me, than thoſe, who

who would perhaps glut their rage upon me by inhuman tortures and barbarities: that in the caſe of the ſavages, I always reſolved to die fighting, to the laſt gaſp; and why ſhould I not do ſo now, ſeeing it was much more dreadful, to me, at leaſt, to think of falling into theſe mens hands, than ever I was to think of being eaten by men; for the ſavages, give them their due, would not eat a man till he was killed and dead; but that theſe men had many arts beyond the cruelty of death. Whenever theſe thoughts prevailed, I was ſure to put myſelf into a kind of fever, with the agitation of a ſuppoſed fight; my blood would boil, and my eyes ſparkle, as if I was engaged, and I always reſolved to take no quarter at their hands: but even at laſt, if I could reſiſt no longer, I would blow up the ſhip and all that was in her, and leave them but little booty to boaſt of.

By how much the greater weight the anxieties and perplexities of theſe things were to our thoughts while we were at ſea, by ſo much the greater was our ſatisfaction when we ſaw ourſelves on ſhore; and my partner told me he dreamed, that he had a very heavy load upon his back, which he was to carry up a hill, and found that he was not able to ſtand long under it, but that the Portugueſe pilot came and took it off his back, and the hill diſappeared, the ground before him ſhewing all ſmooth and plain; and truly it was ſo: we were all like men who had a load taken off their backs.

For my part, I had a weight taken off from my heart, that it was not able any longer to bear; and as I ſaid above, we reſolved to go no more to ſea in that ſhip. When we came on ſhore, the old pilot, who was now our friend, got us a lodging and a warehouſe for our goods, which, by the way, was much the ſame; it was

a little houſe or hut, with a larger houſe adjoining to it, all built with canes, and palliſaded round with large canes, to keep out pilfering thieves, of which, it ſeems, there were not a few in that country; however, the magiſtrates allowed us a little guard, and we had a ſoldier with a kind of halberd, or half-pike, who ſtood centinel at our door; to whom we allowed a pint of rice, and a little piece of money, about the value of three-pence per day, ſo that our goods were kept very ſafe.

The fair or mart uſually kept in this place, had been over ſome time; however, we found that there were three or four jonks in the river, and two Japanners, I mean, ſhips from Japan, with goods which they had bought in China, and were not gone away, having ſome Japaneſe merchants on ſhore.

The firſt thing our old Portugueſe pilot did for us, was to bring us acquainted with three miſſionary Romiſh prieſts who were in town, and who had been there ſome time, converting the people to Chriſtianity; but we thought they made but poor work of it, and made them but ſorry Chriſtians when they had done: however, that was none of our buſineſs. One of theſe was a Frenchman, whom they called Father Simon; another was a Portugueſe, and the third a Genoeſe; but Father Simon was courteous, eaſy in his manner, and very agreeable company; the other two were more reſerved, ſeemed rigid and auſtere, and applied ſeriouſly to the work they came about, viz. to talk with, and inſinuate themſelves among the inhabitants, wherever they had opportunity. We often eat and drank with thoſe men; and though I muſt confeſs, the converſion, as they call it, of the Chineſe to Chriſtianity, is ſo far from

from the true converſion required, to bring heathen people to the faith of Chriſt, that it ſeems to amount to little more than letting them know the name of Chriſt, and ſay ſome prayers to the Virgin Mary and her Son, in a tongue which they underſtand not, and to croſs themſelves, and the like; yet it muſt be confeſſed, that theſe religious, whom we call miſſionaries, have a firm belief that theſe people will be ſaved, and that they are the inſtruments of it; and on this account, they undergo not only the fatigue of the voyage, and the hazards of living in ſuch places, but oftentimes death itſelf, with the moſt violent tortures, for the ſake of this work.

But to return to my ſtory: this French prieſt, Father Simon, was appointed, it ſeems, by order of the chief of the miſſion, to go up to Peking, the royal ſeat of the Chineſe Emperor, and waited only for another prieſt, who was ordered to come to him from Macao, to go along with him, and we ſcarce ever met together, but he was inviting me to go that journey; telling me how he would ſhew me all the glorious things of that mighty empire, and among the reſt, the greateſt city in the world: a city, ſaid he, that your London and our Paris put together, cannot be equal to. This was the city of Peking, which I confeſs is very great, and infinitely full of people; but as I looked on thoſe things with different eyes from other men, ſo I ſhall give my opinion of them in few words, when I come in the courſe of my travels to ſpeak more particularly of them.

But firſt, I come to my friar, or miſſionary: dining with him one day, and being very merry together, I ſhewed ſome little inclination to go with him, and he

preſſed me and my partner very hard, and with a great many perſuaſions, to conſent. Why, Father Simon, ſays my partner, ſhould you deſire our company ſo much? you know we are heretics, and you do not love us, nor cannot keep us company with any pleaſure. O, ſays he, you may perhaps be good catholics in time; my buſineſs here, is to convert heathens, and who knows, but I may convert you too. Very well, father, ſaid I, ſo you will preach to us all the way. I will not be troubleſome to you, ſays he; our religion does not diveſt us of good manners: beſides, ſays he, we are here like countrymen, and ſo we are, compared to the place we are in; and if you are Hugonots, and I a Catholic, we may all be Chriſtians at laſt; at leaſt, ſaid he, we are all gentlemen, and we may converſe ſo, without being uneaſy to one another. I liked that part of his diſcourſe very well, and it began to put me in mind of my prieſt that I had left in the Braſils; but this Father Simon did not come up to his character by a great deal; for though Father Simon had no appearance of a criminal levity in him neither, yet he had not that fund of Chriſtian zeal, ſtrict piety, and ſincere affection to religion, that my other good eccleſiaſtic had, of whom I have ſaid ſo much.

But to leave him a little, though he never left us, nor ſoliciting us to go with him; but we had ſomething elſe before us at firſt, for we had all this while our ſhip and our merchandize to diſpoſe of, and we began to be very doubtful what we ſhould do, for we were now in a place of very little buſineſs; and once I was about to venture to ſail for the river of Kilam, and the city of Nanquin, but providence ſeemed now more viſibly, as I thought, than ever to concern itſelf in our affairs;

affairs; and I was encouraged from this very time to think, I ſhould one way or other get out of this tangled circumſtance, and be brought home to my own country again, though I had not the leaſt view of the manner; and when I began to think of it, could not imagine by what method it was to be done; providence, I ſay, began here to clear up our way a little; and the firſt thing that offered was, that our old Portugueſe pilot brought a Japan merchant to us, who enquired what goods we had; and in the firſt place he bought all our opium, and gave us a very good price for it, paying us in gold by weight, ſome in ſmall pieces of their own coin, and ſome in ſmall wedges, of about ten or eleven ounces each. While we were dealing with him for our opium, it came into my head, that he might perhaps deal for the ſhip too; and I ordered the interpreter to propoſe it to him; he ſhrunk up his ſhoulders at it, when it was firſt propoſed to him: but in a few days after he came to me with one of the miſſionary prieſts for his interpreter, and told me he had a propoſal to make to me, and that was this: he had bought a great quantity of goods of us, when he had no thoughts of propoſals made to him of buying the ſhip; and that therefore, he had not money enough to pay for the ſhip: but if I would let the ſame men who were in the ſhip navigate her, he would hire the ſhip to go to Japan, and would ſend them from thence to the Philippine iſlands with another loading, which he would pay the freight of, before they went from Japan; and that at their return he would buy the ſhip. I began to liſten to his propoſal, and ſo eager did my head ſtill run upon rambling, that I could not but begin to entertain a notion of going myſelf with him, and ſo to ſail from the Philippine

iſlands, away to the South Seas; and accordingly I aſked the Japaneſe merchant, if he would not hire us to the Philippine iſlands, and diſcharge us there. He ſaid, no, he could not do that; for then he could not have the return of his cargo; but he would diſcharge us in Japan, he ſaid, at the ſhip's return. Well, ſtill I was for taking him at that propoſal, and going myſelf; but my partner, wiſer than myſelf, perſuaded me from it, repreſenting the dangers as well of the ſeas, as of the Japaneſe, who are a falſe, cruel and treacherous people; and then of the Spaniards at the Philippines, more falſe, more cruel, more treacherous than they.

But to bring this long turn of our affairs to a concluſion; the firſt thing we had to do, was to conſult with the captain of the ſhip, and with his men, and know if they were willing to go to Japan: and while I was doing this, the young man whom my nephew had left with me as my companion for my travels, came to me, and told me, that he thought that voyage promiſed very fair, and that there was a great proſpect of advantage, and he would be very glad if I undertook it; but that if I would not, and would give him leave, he would go as a merchant, or how I pleaſed to order him; that if ever he came to England, and I was there and alive, he would render me a faithful account of his ſucceſs, and it ſhould be as much mine as I pleaſed.

I was really loth to part with him; but conſidering the proſpect of advantage, which was really conſiderable, and that he was a young fellow as likely to do well in it as any I knew, I inclined to let him go: but firſt I told him I would conſult my partner, and give him an anſwer the next day. My partner and I diſcourſed about it, and my partner made a moſt generous offer; he told

told me—You know it has been an unlucky ſhip, and we reſolve both not to go to ſea in it again; if your ſteward, ſo he called my man, will venture the voyage, I will leave my ſhare of the veſſel to him, and let him make his beſt of it; and if we meet to live in England, and he meets with ſucceſs abroad, he ſhall account for one half of the profits of the ſhip's freight to us; the other ſhall be his own.

If my partner, who was no way concerned with my young man, made him ſuch an offer, I could do no leſs than offer him the ſame; and all the ſhip's company being willing to go with him, we made over half the ſhip to him in property, and took a writing from him, obliging him to account for the other; and away he went to Japan. The Japan merchant proved a very punctual, honeſt man to him; protected him at Japan, and got him a licence to come on ſhore, which the Europeans in general, have not lately obtained; paid him his freight very punctually, ſent him to the Philippines, loaded with Japan and China wares, and a ſupercargo of their own, who trafficking with the Spaniards, brought back European goods again, and a great quantity of cloves and other ſpices: and there he was not only paid his freight very well, and at a very good price, but being not willing to ſell the ſhip then, the merchant furniſhed him goods on his own account, that for ſome money, and ſome ſpices of his own, which he brought with him, he went back to the Manillas to the Spaniards, where he ſold his cargo very well. Here, having gotten a good acquaintance at Manilla, he got his ſhip made a free ſhip; and the governor of Manilla hired him to go to Acapulco in America, on the coaſt of Mexico, and gave him a licence to land there

there, and to travel to Mexico, and to paſs in any Spaniſh ſhip to Europe with all his men.

He made the voyage to Acapulco very happily, and there he ſold his ſhip; and having there alſo obtained allowance to travel by land to Porto Bello, he found means, ſome how or other, to get to Jamaica, with all his treaſure; and about eight years after came to England, exceeding rich; of which I ſhall take notice in its place: in the mean time, I return to our particular affairs.

Being now to part with the ſhip and ſhip's company, it came before us, of courſe, to conſider what recompence we ſhould give to the two men that gave us ſuch timely notice of the deſign againſt us in the river Cambodia. The truth was, they had done us a conſiderable ſervice, and deſerved well at our hands; though, by the way, they were a couple of rogues too; for as they believed the ſtory of our being pirates, and that we had really run away with the ſhip, they came down to us not only to betray the deſign that was formed againſt us, but to go to ſea with us as pirates; and one of them confeſſed afterwards, that nothing elſe but the hopes of going a roguing brought him to do it: however, the ſervice they did us was not the leſs; and therefore, as I had promiſed to be grateful to them, I firſt ordered the money to be paid them, which they ſaid was due to them on board their reſpective ſhips; over and above that, I gave each of them a ſmall ſum of money in gold, which contented them very well: then I made the Engliſhman gunner in the ſhip, the gunner being now made ſecond mate and purſer; the Dutchman I made boatſwain; ſo they were both very well pleaſed, and proved very ſerviceable, being both able ſeamen, and very ſtout fellows.

We were now on ſhore in China: if I thought myſelf baniſhed and remote from my own country at Bengal, where I had many ways to get home for my money, what could I think of myſelf now, when I was gotten about a thouſand leagues farther off from home, and perfectly deſtitute of all manner of proſpect of return.

All we had for it was this, that in about four months time there was to be another fair at the place where we were, and then we might be able to purchaſe all ſorts of the manufactures of the country, and withal, might poſſibly find ſome Chineſe jonks or veſſels from Tonquin, that would be to be ſold, and would carry us and our goods whither we pleaſed. This I liked very well, and reſolved to wait; beſides, as our particular perſons were not obnoxious, ſo if any Engliſh or Dutch ſhips came thither, perhaps we might have an opportunity to load our goods, and get paſſage to ſome other place in India, nearer home. Upon theſe hopes we reſolved to continue here; but to divert ourſelves, we took two or three journies into the country. Firſt, we went ten days journey, to ſee the city of Nanquin, a city well worth ſeeing indeed; they ſay it has a million of people in it: it is regularly built, the ſtreets all exactly ſtraight, and croſs one another in direct lines, which gives the figure of it great advantage.

But when I come to compare the miſerable people of theſe countries with ours, their fabrics, their manner of living, their government, their religion, their wealth, and their glory, as ſome call it, I muſt confeſs that I ſcarcely think it worth my while to mention them here.

It

It is very obſervable, that we wonder at the grandeur, the riches, the pomp, the ceremonies, the government, the manufactures, the commerce and conduct of theſe people; not that it is to be wondered at, or indeed in the leaſt to be regarded; but becauſe, having firſt a true notion of the barbarity of thoſe countries, the rudeneſs and the ignorance that prevails there, we do not expect to find any ſuch thing ſo far off.

Otherwiſe, what are their buildings to the palaces and royal buildings of Europe? What their trade to the univerſal commerce of England, Holland, France and Spain? What are their cities to ours, for wealth, ſtrength, gaiety of apparel, rich furniture, and infinite variety? What are their ports, ſupplied with a few jonks and barks, to our navigation, our merchant fleets, our large and powerful navies? Our city of London has more trade than half their mighty empire: one Engliſh, Dutch, or French man of war of 80 guns, would be able to fight almoſt all the ſhipping belonging to China: but the greatneſs of their wealth, their trade, the power of their government, and the ſtrength of their armies, may be a little ſurpriſing to us, becauſe, as I have ſaid, conſidering them as a barbarous nation of pagans, little better than ſavages, we did not expect ſuch things among them: and this indeed is the advantage with which all their greatneſs and power is repreſented to us; otherwiſe, it is in itſelf nothing at all; for as I have ſaid of their ſhips, ſo may be ſaid of their armies and troops: all the forces of their empire, though they were to bring two millions of men into the field together, would be able to do nothing but ruin the country, and ſtarve themſelves, if they were to beſiege a ſtrong town in Flanders, or to fight a diſciplined army;

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one good line of German curiaſſiers, or of French cavalry, might withſtand all the horſe of China; a million of their foot could not ſtand before one embattled body of our infantry, poſted ſo as not to be ſurrounded, though they were to be not one to twenty in number; nay, I do not boaſt, if I ſay that 30,000 German or Engliſh foot, and 10,000 horſe well managed, could defeat all the forces of China; and ſo of our fortified towns, and of the art of our engineers in aſſaulting and defending towns: there is not a fortified town in China could hold out one month againſt the batteries and attacks of an European army; and at the ſame time, all the armies of China could never take ſuch a town as Dunkirk, provided it was not ſtarved; no, not in a ten years ſiege. They have fire-arms, it is true, but they are aukward and uncertain in their going off; and their powder has but little ſtrength. Their armies are badly diſciplined, and want ſkill to attack, or temper to retreat; and therefore I muſt confeſs it ſeemed ſtrange to me, when I came home, and heard our people ſay ſuch fine things of the power, riches, glory, magnificence, and trade of the Chineſe; becauſe, as far as I ſaw, they appeared to be a contemptible herd or croud of ignorant, ſordid ſlaves; ſubjected to a government qualified only to rule ſuch a people: and were not its diſtance inconceivably great from Muſcovy, and the Muſcovite empire in a manner as rude, impotent, and ill-governed as they, the Czar of Muſcovy might with eaſe drive them all out of their country, and conquer them in one campaign: and had the Czar (who is now a growing prince) fallen this way, inſtead of attacking the warlike Swedes, and equally improved himſelf in the art of war, as they ſay he has done; and if none of the

powers

powers of Europe would have envied or interrupted him, he might by this time have been Emperor of China, inſtead of being beaten by the King of Sweden at Narva, when the latter was not one to ſix in number. As their ſtrength and their grandeur, ſo their navigation, commerce and huſbandry is very imperfect, compared to the ſame things in Europe: alſo in their knowledge, their learning, and in their ſkill in the ſciences, they are either very aukward or defective, though they have globes and ſpheres, and a ſmattering of the knowledge of the mathematics, and think they know more than all the world beſides; but they know little of the motions of the heavenly bodies; and ſo groſsly and abſurdly ignorant are their common people, that when the ſun is eclipſed, they think a great dragon has aſſaulted it, and is going to run away with it; and they fall a clattering with all the drums and kettles in the country, to fright the monſter away, juſt as we do to hive a ſwarm of bees.

As this is the only excurſion of this kind which I have made in all the accounts I have given of my travels, ſo I ſhall make no more ſuch: it is none of my buſineſs, or any part of my deſign, but to give an account of my own adventures through a life of inimitable wanderings, and a long variety of changes, which, perhaps, few that come after me will have heard the like of: I ſhall therefore ſay very little of all the mighty places, deſart countries, and numerous people I have yet to paſs through, more than relates to my own ſtory, and which my concern among them will make neceſſary. I was now, as near as I can compute, in the heart of China, about thirty degrees north of the Line, for we were returned from Nanquin: I had indeed, a mind

to

to ſee the city of Peking, which I had heard ſo much of, and Father Simon importuned me daily to do it. At length his time of going away being ſet, and the other miſſionary who was to go with him, being arrived from Macao, it was neceſſary that we ſhould reſolve either to go or not; ſo I referred it wholly to my partner, and left it wholly to his choice, who at length reſolved it in the affirmative, and we prepared for our journey. We ſet out with very good advantage, as to finding the way, for we got leave to travel in the retinue of one of their Mandarins, a kind of viceroy or principal magiſtrate in the province where they reſide, and who take great ſtate upon them, travelling with great attendance, and with great homage from the people, who are ſometimes greatly impoveriſhed by them, being obliged to furniſh proviſions for them and all their attendants in their journies. That which I particularly obſerved, as to our travelling with his baggage, was this, that though we received ſufficient proviſions both for ourſelves and our horſes, from the country, as belonging to the Mandarin, yet we were obliged to pay for every thing we had, after the market price of the country, and the Mandarin's ſteward collected it duly from us; ſo that our travelling in the retinue of the Mandarin, though it was a very great kindneſs to us, was not ſuch a mighty favour in him, but was indeed a great advantage to him, conſidering there were above thirty other people travelled in the ſame manner beſide us, under the protection of his retinue; ſo that I ſay, it was a great advantage to him, for the country furniſhed all the proviſions for nothing, to him, and he took all our money for them.

We

We were twenty-five days travelling to Peking, through a country infinitely populous, but I think badly cultivated: the huſbandry, the œconomy, and the way of living miſerable, though they boaſt ſo much of the induſtry of the people; I ſay miſerable, if compared with our own, but not ſo to theſe poor wretches, who know no other. The pride of the people is infinitely great, and exceeded by nothing but their poverty, in ſome parts, which adds to that which I call their miſery; and I muſt needs think the naked ſavages of America live much more happy than the poorer ſort of theſe, becauſe, as they have nothing, ſo they deſire nothing; whereas theſe are proud and inſolent, and in the main, are in many parts mere beggars and drudges: their oſtentation is inexpreſſible; and if they can, they love to keep multitudes of ſervants or ſlaves, which is to the laſt degree ridiculous, as well as their contempt of all the world but themſelves.

I muſt confeſs, I travelled more pleaſantly afterwards in the deſarts and vaſt wilderneſſes of Grand Tartary than here; and yet the roads here are well paved and well kept, and very convenient for travellers: but nothing was more aukward to me, than to ſee ſuch a haughty, imperious, inſolent people, in the midſt of the groſſeſt ſimplicity and ignorance; and my friend, Father Simon, and I, uſed to be very merry upon theſe occaſions, to ſee the beggarly pride of theſe people: for example, coming by the houſe of a country gentleman, as Father Simon called him, about ten leagues off the city of Nanquin, we had firſt of all the honour to ride with the maſter of the houſe about two miles; the ſtate he rode in was a perfect Don Quixotiſm, being a mixture of pomp and poverty.

His habit was very proper for a ſcaramouch, or merry Andrew, being a dirty calico, with hanging-ſleeves, taſſels, and cuts and ſlaſhes almoſt on every ſide; it covered a taffaty veſt, as greaſy as a butcher's, and which teſtified that his honour muſt be a moſt exquiſite ſloven.

His horſe was but a poor, ſtarved, hobbling creature, and he had two ſlaves followed him on foot, to drive the poor creature along; he had a whip in his hand, and he laboured the beaſt as faſt about the head as his ſlaves did about his tail; and thus he rode by us, with about ten or twelve ſervants, going from the city to his country ſeat, about half a league before us. We travelled on gently, but this figure of a gentleman rode away before us, and as we ſtopped at a village about an hour, to refreſh us, when we came by the country ſeat of this great man, we ſaw him in a little place before his door, eating his repaſt. It was a kind of a garden, but he was eaſy to be ſeen; and we were given to underſtand, that the more we looked on him, the better he would be pleaſed.

He ſat under a tree, ſomething like the palmetto, which effectually ſhaded him over the head and on the ſouth ſide; but under the tree was alſo placed a large umbrella, which made that part look well enough: he ſat lolling back in a great elbow-chair, being a heavy, corpulent man, and had his meat brought him by two women ſlaves; he had two more, one of which fed the 'ſquire with a ſpoon, and the other held the diſh with one hand, and ſcraped off what he let fall upon his worſhip's beard and taffaty veſt.

Thus leaving the poor wretch to pleaſe himſelf with our looking at him, as if we admired his pomp, though

we really pitied and contemned him, we purſued our journey; only Father Simon had the curioſity to ſtay to inform himſelf what dainties the country juſtice had to feed on in all his ſtate, which he ſaid he had the honour to taſte of, and which was, I think, a meſs of boiled rice, with a great piece of garlic in it, and a little bag filled with green pepper, and another plant which they have there, ſomething like our ginger, but ſmelling like muſk, and taſting like muſtard; all this was put together, and a ſmall piece of lean mutton boiled in it, and this was his worſhip's repaſt; four or five ſervants more attended at a diſtance, who, we ſuppoſed, were to eat of the ſame after their maſter.

As for our Mandarin, with whom we travelled, he was reſpected as a king, ſurrounded always with his gentlemen, and attended in all his appearances with ſuch pomp, that I ſaw little of him but at a diſtance; but this I obſerved, that there was not a horſe in his retinue, but that our carriers pack-horſes in England, ſeemed to me to look much better; though it was hard to judge rightly, for they were ſo covered with equipage, mantles, trappings, &c. that we could ſcarce ſee any thing but their feet and their heads as they went along.

I was now light-hearted, and all my trouble and perplexity that I have given an account of, being over, I had no anxious thought about me, which made this journey the pleaſanter to me; nor had I any ill accident attended me, only in the paſſing or fording a ſmall river, my horſe fell, and made me free of the country, as they call it, that is to ſay, threw me in; the place was not deep, but it wetted me all over. I mention it, becauſe it ſpoiled my pocket-book, wherein I had ſet down the name of ſeveral people and places which I had occaſion

to

remember, and which, not taking due care of, the leaves rotted, and the words were never after to be read; to my great loſs, as to the names of ſome places I touched at in this voyage or journey.

At length we arrived at Peking; I had nobody with me but the youth whom my nephew the captain had given me, to attend me as a ſervant, and who proved very truſty and diligent; and my partner had nobody with him but one ſervant, who was a kinſman: as for the Portugueſe pilot, he being deſirous to ſee the court, we bore his charges for his company, and to uſe him as an interpreter, for he underſtood the language of the country, and ſpoke good French, and a little Engliſh; and indeed this old man was a moſt uſeful implement to us every where; for we had not been above a week at Peking, when he came laughing: Ah, Seignior Ingleſe, ſays he, I have ſomething to tell you will make your heart glad. My heart glad, ſays I; what can that be? I don't know any thing in this country can either give me joy or grief, to any great degree. Yes, yes, ſaid the old man, in broken Engliſh, make you glad, me ſorry. Why, ſaid I, will it make you ſorry? Becauſe, ſaid he, you have brought me here twenty-five days journey, and will leave me to go back alone, and which way ſhall I get to my port afterwards without a ſhip, without a horſe, without *pecune*: ſo he called money, being his broken Latin, of which he had abundance to make us merry with.

In ſhort, he told us there was a great caravan of Muſcovite and Poliſh merchants in the city, preparing to ſet out on their journey by land to Muſcovy, within four or five weeks, and he was ſure we would take the

opportunity to go with them, and leave him behind, to go back all alone.

I confeſs I was greatly ſurprized with this good news, and had ſcarce power to ſpeak to him for ſome time; but at laſt I turned to him, How do you know this, ſaid I? Are you ſure it is true? Yes, ſays he; I met this morning in the ſtreet an old acquaintance of mine, an Armenian, who is among them; he came laſt from Aſtracan, and was deſigning to go to Tonquin, where I formerly knew him, but has altered his mind, and is now reſolved to go with the caravan to Moſcow, and ſo down the river Wolga to Aſtracan. Well, Seignior, ſays I, do not be uneaſy about being left to go back alone; if this be a method for my return to England, it ſhall be your fault if you go back to Macao at all. We then went to conſult together what was to be done; and I aſked my partner what he thought of the pilot's news, and whether it would ſuit with his affairs? He told me he would do juſt as I would; for he had ſettled all his affairs ſo well at Bengal, and left his effects in ſuch good hands, that as we had made a good voyage here, if he could veſt it in China ſilks, wrought and raw, ſuch as might be worth the carriage, he would be content to go to England, and then make his voyage back to Bengal by the Company's ſhips.

Having reſolved upon this, we agreed, that if our Portugueſe pilot would go with us, we would bear his charges to Moſcow or to England, if he pleaſed: nor indeed were we to be eſteemed over generous in that neither, if we had not rewarded him farther, for the ſervice he had done us was really worth that and more; for he had not only been a pilot to us at ſea, but he had been like a broker for us on ſhore; and his procuring for

for us the Japan merchant, was ſome hundreds of pounds in our pockets. So we conſulted together about it, and being willing to gratify him, which was indeed but doing him juſtice, and very willing alſo to have him with us beſides, for he was a moſt neceſſary man on all occaſions, we agreed to give him a quantity of coined gold, which, as I compute it, came to about 175l. ſterling between us, and to bear all his charges, both for himſelf and horſe, except only a horſe to carry his goods. Having ſettled this between ourſelves, we called him, to let him know what we had reſolved. I told him, he had complained of our being to let him go back alone, and I was now to tell him we were reſolved he ſhould not go back at all; that as we had reſolved to go to Europe with the caravan, we reſolved alſo he ſhould go with us; and that we called him to know his mind. He ſhook his head, and ſaid, it was a long journey, and he had no *pecune* to carry him thither, or to ſubſiſt himſelf when he came there. We told him we believed it was ſo, and therefore we had reſolved to do ſomething for him that ſhould let him ſee how ſenſible we were of the ſervice he had done us, and alſo how agreeable he was to us; and then I told him what we had reſolved to give him here, which he might lay out as we would do our own; and that, as for his charges, if he would go with us, we would ſet him ſafe on ſhore (life and caſualties excepted) either in Muſcovy or England, which he would, at our own charge, except only the carriage of his goods. He received the propoſal like a man tranſported, and told us he would go with us over the whole world; and ſo, in ſhort, we all prepared for our journey. However, as it was with us, ſo it was with the other merchants, they had many things

to do; and inſtead of being ready in five weeks, it was four months and ſome days before all things were got together.

It was the beginning of February, our ſtile, when we ſet out from Peking. My partner and the old pilot had gone expreſs back to the port where we had firſt put in, to diſpoſe of ſome goods which we had left there, and I, with a Chineſe merchant whom I had ſome knowledge of at Nanquin, and who came to Peking on his own affairs, went to Nanquin, where I bought ninety pieces of fine damaſks, with about two hundred pieces of other very fine ſilks of ſeveral ſorts, ſome mixed with gold, and had all theſe brought to Peking againſt my partner's return: beſides this, we bought a very large quantity of raw ſilk, and ſome other goods, our cargo amounting in theſe goods only to about 3500l. ſterling; which, together with tea, and ſome fine calicoes, and three camels loads of nutmegs and cloves, loaded in all eighteen camels for our ſhare, beſides thoſe we rode upon; which, with two or three ſpare horſes, and two horſes loaded with proviſions, made us, in ſhort, twenty-ſix camels and horſes in our retinue.

The whole company was very great, and, as near as I can remember, made between three and four hundred horſe, and upwards of one hundred and twenty men, very well armed, and provided for all events: for as the eaſtern caravans are ſubject to be attacked by the Arabs, ſo are theſe by the Tartars; but they are not altogether ſo dangerous as the Arabs, nor ſo barbarous, when they prevail.

The company conſiſted of people of ſeveral nations; but there were above ſixty of them merchants or inhabitants of Moſcow, though of them ſome were Livonians;

nians; and, to our particular ſatisfaction, five of them were Scots, who appeared alſo to be men of great experience in buſineſs, and of very good ſubſtance.

When we had travelled one day's journey, the guides, who were five in number, called all the gentlemen and merchants, that is to ſay, all the paſſengers, except the ſervants, to a great council, as they called it. At this council every one depoſited a certain quantity of money to a common ſtock, for the neceſſary expence of buying forage on the way, where it was not otherwiſe to be had, and for ſatisfying the guides, getting horſes, and the like: and here they conſtituted the journey, as they call it, viz. they named captains and officers to draw us all up, andgi ve the word of command, in caſe of an attack, and give every one their turn of command; nor was this forming us into order any more than what we found needful upon the way, as ſhall be obſerved.

The road all on this ſide of the country is very populous, and is full of potters and earth-makers, that is to ſay, people that tempered the earth for the China-ware: and as I was coming along, our Portugal pilot, who had always ſomething or other to ſay to make us merry, came ſneering to me, and told me he would ſhew me the greateſt rarity in all the country, and that I ſhould have this to ſay of China, after all the ill-humoured things I had ſaid of it, that I had ſeen one thing which was not to be ſeen in all the world beſide. I was very importunate to know what it was; at laſt he told me it was a gentleman's houſe built with China-ware. Well, ſays I, are not the materials of their buildings the product of their own country, and ſo it is all China-ware, is it not? No, no, ſays he, I mean it is a houſe all made of China-ware, ſuch as you call it

in England, or as it is called in our country, porcelain. Well, ſays I, ſuch a thing may be; how big is it? Can we carry it in a box upon a camel? If we can, w will buy it. Upon a camel! ſays the old pilot, holding up both his hands, why there is a family of thirty people lives in it.

I was then curious indeed to ſee it; and when I came to it, it was nothing but this: it was a timber houſe, or a houſe built, as we call it in England, with lath and plaſter, but all this plaſtering was really China-ware, that is to ſay, it was plaſtered with the earth that makes China-ware.

The outſide, which the ſun ſhone hot upon, was glazed, and looked very well, perfect white, and painted with blue figures, as the large China-ware in England is painted, and hard as if it had been burned: as to the inſide, all the walls, inſtead of wainſcot, were lined with hardened and painted tiles, like the little ſquare tiles we call galley-tiles in England, all made of the fineſt China, and the figures exceeding fine indeed, with extraordinary variety of colours, mixed with gold, many tiles making but one figure, but joined ſo artificially, the mortar being made of the ſame earth, that it was very hard to ſee where the tiles met. The floors of the rooms were of the ſame compoſition, and as hard as the earthen floors we have in uſe in ſeveral parts of England; as hard as ſtone, and ſmooth, but not burned and painted, except ſome ſmaller rooms, like cloſets, which were all, as it were, paved with the ſame tile: the ceiling and all the plaſtering work in the whole houſe were of the ſame earth; and, after all, the roof was covered with tiles of the ſame, but of a deep ſhining black.

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This was a China-warehouſe indeed, truly and literally to be called ſo; and had I not been upon the journey, I could have ſtaid ſome days to ſee and examine the particulars of it. They told me there were fountains and fiſh-ponds in the garden, all paved on the bottom and ſides with the ſame; and fine ſtatues ſet up in rows on the walks, entirely formed of the porcelain earth, and burned whole.

As this is one of the ſingularities of China, ſo they may be allowed to excel in it; but I am very ſure they excel in their accounts of it: for they told me ſuch incredible things of their performance in crockery-ware, for ſuch it is, that I care not to relate, as knowing it could not be true. They told me, in particular, of one workman that made a ſhip with all its tackle, and maſts and ſails, in earthen-ware, big enough to carry fifty men. If they had told me he launched it, and made a voyage to Japan in it, I might have ſaid ſomething to it indeed; but as it was, I knew the whole of the ſtory; which was, in ſhort, aſking pardon for the word, that the fellow lied; ſo I ſmiled, and ſaid nothing to it.

This odd ſight kept me two hours behind the caravan, for which the leader of it for the day, fined me about the value of three ſhillings; and told me, if it had been three days journey without the wall, as it was three days within, he muſt have fined me four times as much, and made me aſk pardon the next council day: ſo I promiſed to be more orderly; for indeed I found afterwards the orders made for keeping all together were abſolutely neceſſary for our common ſafety.

In two days more we paſſed the great China wall made for a fortification againſt the Tartars, and a very great work it is, going over hills and mountains in a needleſs

needleſs track, where the rocks are impaſſable, and the precipices ſuch as no enemy could poſſibly enter, or indeed climb up, or where, if they did, no wall could hinder them. They tell us its length is near a thouſand Engliſh miles, but that the country is five hundred in a ſtraight meaſured line which the wall bounds, without meaſuring the windings and turnings it takes: it is about four fathoms high, and as many thick in ſome places.

I ſtood ſtill an hour, or thereabout, without treſpaſſing our orders, (for ſo long the caravan was in paſſing the gate) to look at it on every ſide, near and far off, I mean that was within my view; and the guide of our caravan, who had been extolling it for the wonder of the world, was mighty eager to hear my opinion of it. I told him it was a moſt excellent thing to keep out the Tartars; which he happened not to underſtand as I meant it, and ſo took it for a compliment; but the old pilot laughed: O, Seignior Ingleſe, ſays he, you ſpeak in colours. In colours, ſaid I; what do you mean by that? Why you ſpeak what looks white this way, and black that way; gay one way, and dull another. You tell him it is a good wall to keep out Tartars; you tell me by that, it is good for nothing but to keep out Tartars. I underſtand you, Seignior Ingleſe; I underſtand you, ſays he; but Seignior Chineſe underſtood you his own way.

Well, ſays I, Seignior, do you think it would ſtand out an army of our country people, with a good train of artillery; or our engineers, with two companies of miners? Would not they batter it down in ten days, that an army might enter in battalia; or blow it up in the air, foundation and all, that there ſhould be no ſign of it left?

left? Aye, aye, ſays he, I know that. The Chineſe wanted mightily to know what I ſaid, and I gave him leave to tell him a few days after, for we were then almoſt out of their country, and he was to leave us in a little time afterward; but when he knew what I had ſaid, he was dumb all the reſt of the way, and we heard no more of his fine ſtory of the Chineſe power and greatneſs while he ſtayed.

After we paſſed this mighty wall, ſomething like the Picts, and ſo famous in Northumberland, built by the Romans, we began to find the country thinly inhabited, and the people rather confined to live in fortified towns and cities, as being ſubject to the inroads and depredations of the Tartars, who rob in great armies, and therefore are not to be reſiſted by the naked inhabitants of an open country.

And here I began to find the neceſſity of keeping together in a caravan as we travelled, for we ſaw ſeveral troops of Tartars roving about; but when I came to ſee them diſtinctly, I wondered more that the Chineſe empire could be conquered by ſuch contemptible fellows; for they are a mere hord or croud of wild fellows, keeping no order, and underſtanding no diſcipline, or manner of fight.

Their horſes are poor lean creatures, taught nothing, and fit for nothing; and this we found the firſt day we ſaw them, which was after we entered the wilder part of the country. Our leader for the day, gave leave for about ſixteen of us to go a hunting, as they call it; and what was this but hunting of ſheep; however it may be called hunting too, for the creatures are the wildeſt and ſwifteſt of foot that ever I ſaw of their kind; only they will not run a great way, and you are ſure of ſport when you

you begin the chaſe, for they appear generally thirty or forty in a flock, and like true ſheep, always keep together when they fly.

In purſuit of this odd ſort of game, it was our hap to meet with about forty Tartars: whether they were hunting mutton as we were, or whether they looked for another kind of prey, I know not; but as ſoon as they ſaw us, one of them blew a kind of horn very loud, but with a barbarous ſound that I had never heard before, and, by the way, never care to hear again; we all ſuppoſed this was to call their friends about them, and ſo it was; for in leſs than half a quarter of an hour, a troop of forty or fifty more appeared at about a mile diſtance; but our work was over firſt, as it happened.

One of the Scots merchants of Moſcow happened to be amongſt us, and as ſoon as he heard the horn, he told us in ſhort, that we had nothing to do but to charge them immediately, without loſs of time; and drawing us up in a line, he aſked if we were reſolved. We told him we were ready to follow him; ſo he rode directly towards them. They ſtood gazing at us like a mere croud, drawn up in no order, nor ſhewing the face of any order at all; but as ſoon as they ſaw us advance, they let fly their arrows, which, however, miſſed us very happily: it ſeems they miſtook not their aim, but their diſtance; for their arrows all fell a little ſhort of us, but with ſo true an aim, that had we been about twenty yards nearer, we muſt have had ſeveral men wounded, if not killed.

Immediately we halted, and though it was at a great diſtance, we fired, and ſent them leaden bullets for wooden arrows, following our ſhot full gallop, to fall in among them ſword in hand, for ſo our bold Scot

that

that led us directed. He was indeed but a merchant, but he behaved with that vigour and bravery on this occaſion, and yet with ſuch cool courage too, that I never ſaw any man in action fitter for command. As ſoon as we came up to them, we fired our piſtols in their faces, and then drew; but they fled in the greateſt confuſion imaginable. The only ſtand any of them made was on our right, where three of them ſtood, and by ſigns, called the reſt to come back to them, having a kind of ſcymitar in their hands, and their bows hanging to their backs. Our brave commander, without aſking any body to follow him, gallops up cloſe to them, and with his fuzee knocks one of them off his horſe, killed the ſecond with his piſtol, and the third ran away; and thus ended our fight: but we had this misfortune attending it, viz. that all our mutton we had in chaſe got away. We had not a man killed or hurt; but as for the Tartars, there were about five of them killed; how many were wounded we knew not; but this we knew, that the other party were ſo frightened with the noiſe of our guns, that they made off, and never made any attempt upon us.

We were all this while in the Chineſe dominions, and therefore the Tartars were not ſo bold as afterwards; but in about five days, we entered a vaſt, great, wild deſart, which held us three days and nights march, and we were obliged to carry our water with us in great leathern bottles, and to encamp all night, juſt as I have heard they do in the Deſart of Arabia.

I aſked our guides whoſe dominion this was in; and they told me thiswas a kind of border, that might be called no man's land, being a part of Great Karakathay, or Grand Tartary; but that however it was all reckoned

ed as belonging to China; but that there was no care taken here to preſerve it from the inroads of thieves, and therefore it was reckoned the worſt deſart in the whole march, though we were to go over ſome much larger.

In paſſing this wilderneſs, which was at firſt very frightful to me, we ſaw two or three times little parties of the Tartars, but they ſeemed to be upon their own affairs, and to have no deſign upon us: and ſo, like the man who met the devil, if they had nothing to ſay to us, we had nothing to ſay to them;—we let them go.

Once, however, a party of them came ſo near as to ſtand and gaze at us: whether it was to conſider if they ſhould attack us or not, we knew not; but when we were paſſed at ſome diſtance by them, we made a rear-guard of forty men, and ſtood ready for them, letting the caravan paſs half a mile, or thereabouts, before us:—But after a while, they marched off; only we found they ſaluted us with five arrows at their parting, one of which wounded a horſe, ſo that it diſabled him; and we left him the next day, poor creature, in great need of a good farrier. We ſuppoſed they might ſhoot more arrows, which might fall ſhort of us, but we ſaw no more of them that time.

We travelled near a month after this, the ways being not ſo good as at firſt, though ſtill in the dominions of the Emperor of China, but lay for the moſt part in villages, ſome of which were fortified, becauſe of the incurſions of the Tartars. When we were come to one of theſe towns, (it was about two days and a half journey before we were to come to the city of Naum) I wanted to buy a camel, of which there are plenty to be ſold all the way upon that road, and of horſes alſo, ſuch

ſuch as they are, becauſe ſo many caravans coming that way, they are often wanted. The perſon that I ſpoke to, to get me a camel, would have gone and fetched one for me; but I, like a fool, muſt be officious, and go myſelf along with him: the place was about two miles out of the village, where it ſeems they kept the camels and horſes feeding under a guard.

I walked it on foot with my old pilot, and a Chineſe, being very deſirous of a little variety. When we came to the place, it was a low marſhy ground, walled round with a ſtone wall, piled up dry, without mortar or earth among it, like a park, with a little guard of Chineſe ſoldiers at the door. Having bought a camel, and agreed for the price, I came away, and the Chineſeman that went with me led the camel; when, on a ſudden, came up five Tartars on horſeback; two of them ſeized the fellow and took the camel from him; while the other three ſtepped up to me and my old pilot, ſeeing us, as it were, unarmed, for I had no weapon about me but my ſword, which could but ill defend me againſt three horſemen. The firſt that came up, ſtopped ſhort upon my drawing my ſword, for they are arrant cowards; but a ſecond, coming upon my left, gave me a blow on the head, which I never felt till afterwards, and wondered, when I came to myſelf, what was the matter, and where I was, for he laid me flat on the ground; but my never-failing old pilot, the Portugueſe, (ſo Providence unlooked for, directs deliverances from dangers, which to us are unforeſeen) had a piſtol in his pocket, which I knew nothing of, nor the Tartars neither; if they had, I ſuppoſe they would not have attacked us: but cowards are always boldeſt when there is no danger.

The

The old man ſeeing me down, with a bold heart, ſtepped up to the fellow that had ſtruck me, and laying hold of his arm with one hand, and pulling him down by main force a little towards him with the other, ſhot him into the head, and laid him dead upon the ſpot. He then immediately ſtepped up to him who had ſtopped us, as I ſaid, and before he could come forward again, made a blow at him with a ſcymitar, which he always wore, but miſſing the man, cut his horſe into the ſide of his head, cut one of the ears off by the root, and a great ſlice down by the ſide of his face. The poor beaſt, enraged with the wound, was no more to be governed by his rider, though the fellow ſat well enough too; but away he flew, and carried him quite out of the pilot's reach; and at ſome diſtance, riſing upon his hind-legs, threw down the Tartar, and fell upon him.

In this interval, the poor Chineſe came in, who had loſt the camel, but he had no weapon: however, ſeeing the Tartar down, and his horſe fallen upon him, away he runs to him, and ſeizing upon an ugly, ill-favoured weapon he had by his ſide, ſomething like a pole-axe, he wrenched it from him, and made ſhift to knock his Tartarian brains out with it. But my old man had the third Tartar to deal with ſtill; and ſeeing he did not fly, as he expected, nor come on to fight him, as he apprehended, but ſtand ſtock-ſtill, the old man ſtood ſtill too, and fell to work with his tackle, to charge his piſtol again; but as ſoon as the Tartar ſaw the piſtol, away he ſcoured, and left my pilot, my champion I called him afterwards, a complete victory.

By this time I was a little recovered; for I thought, when I firſt began to wake, that I had been in a ſweet ſleep;

ſleep; but, as I ſaid above, I wondered where I was, how I came upon the ground, and what was the matter; but a few moments after, as ſenſe returned, I felt pain, though I did not know where; ſo I clapped my hand to my head, and took it away bloody; then I felt my head ache; and then, in a moment, memory returned, and every thing was preſent to me again.

I jumped upon my feet inſtantly, and got hold of my ſword, but no enemies in view: I found a Tartar lie dead, and his horſe ſtanding very quietly by him; and, looking farther, I ſaw my champion and deliverer, who had been to ſee what the Chineſe had done, coming back, with his hanger in his hand: the old man, ſeeing me on my feet, came running to me, and embraced me with a great deal of joy, being afraid before that I had been killed; and, ſeeing me bloody, would ſee how I was hurt; but it was not much, only what we call a broken head; neither did I afterwards find any great inconvenience from the blow, for it was well again in two or three days.

We made no great gain however by this victory, for we loſt a camel and gained a horſe; but that which was remarkable, when we came back to the village, the man demanded to be paid for the camel; I diſputed it, and it was brought to a hearing before the Chineſe judge of the place. To give him his due, he acted with a great deal of prudence and impartiality; and, having heard both ſides, he gravely aſked the Chineſe man that went with me to buy the camel, whoſe ſervant he was? I am no ſervant, ſays he, but went with the ſtranger. At whoſe requeſt? ſays the juſtice. At the ſtranger's requeſt, ſays he. Why then, ſays the juſtice, you were the ſtranger's ſervant for the time; and the ca-

mel being delivered to his ſervant, it was delivered to him, and he muſt pay for it.

I confeſs the thing was ſo clear, that I had not a word to ſay: but, admiring to ſee ſuch juſt reaſoning upon the conſequence, and ſo accurate ſtating the caſe, I paid willingly for the camel, and ſent for another; but, you may obſerve, I did not go to fetch it myſelf any more, for I had had enough of that.

The city of Naum is a frontier of the Chineſe empire; they call it fortified, and ſo it is, as fortifications go there; for this I will venture to affirm, that all the Tartars in Karakathay, which, I believe, are ſome millions, could not batter down the walls with their bows and arrows; but to call it ſtrong, if it were attacked with cannon, would be to make thoſe who underſtand it laugh at you.

We wanted, as I have ſaid, above two days journey of this city, when meſſengers were ſent expreſs to every part of the road, to tell all travellers and caravans to halt, till they had a guard ſent for them; for that an unuſual body of Tartars, making ten thouſand in all, had appeared in the way, about thirty miles beyond the city.

This was very bad news to travellers; however it was carefully done of the governor, and we were very glad to hear we ſhould have a guard. Accordingly, two days after, we had two hundred ſoldiers ſent us from a garriſon of the Chineſe, on our left, and three hundred more from the city of Naum, and with theſe we advanced boldly; the three hundred ſoldiers from Naum, marched in our front, the two hundred in our rear, and our men on each ſide of our camels, with our baggage, and the whole caravan in the center; in this

this order, and well prepared for battle, we thought ourſelves a match for the whole ten thouſand Mogul Tartars, if they had appeared; but, the next day, when they did appear, it was quite another thing.

It was early in the morning, when, marching from a little well ſituated town, called Changu, we had a river to paſs, which we were obliged to ferry; and, had the Tartars had any intelligence, then had been the time to have attacked us, when, the caravan being over, the rear-guard was behind; but they did not appear there.

About three hours after, when we were entered upon a deſart of about fifteen or ſixteen miles over, behold, by a cloud of duſt they raiſed, we ſaw an enemy was at hand; and they were at hand indeed, for they came on upon the ſpur.

The Chineſe, our guard on the front, who had talked ſo big the day before, began to ſtagger; and the ſoldiers frequently looked behind them, which is a certain ſign in a ſoldier that he is juſt ready to run away. My old pilot was of my mind; and, being near me, called out, Seignior Ingleſe, ſays he, thoſe fellows muſt be encouraged, or they will ruin us all; for, if the Tartars come on, they will never ſtand it. I am of your mind, ſaid I; but what muſt be done? Done! ſays he, let fifty of our men advance, and flank them on each wing, and encourage them; and they will fight like brave fellows, in brave company; but, without this, they will every man turn his back. Immediately I rode up to our leader, and told him, who was exactly of our mind; and, accordingly, fifty of us marched to the right wing, and fifty to the left, and the reſt made a line of reſcue; and ſo we marched,

leaving the laſt two hundred men to make a body by themſelves, and to guard the camels; only, that if need were, they ſhould ſend an hundred men to aſſiſt the laſt fifty.

In a word, the Tartars came on, and an innumerable company they were: how many we could not tell, but ten thouſand, we thought, was the leaſt: a party of them came on firſt, and viewed our poſture, traverſing the ground in the front of our line; and, as we found them within gun-ſhot, our leader ordered the two wings to advance ſwiftly, and give them a ſalvo on each wing, with their ſhot, which was done; but they went off, and I ſuppoſe back, to give an account of the reception they were like to meet with; and, indeed, that ſalute cloyed their ſtomachs, for they immediately halted, ſtood a while to conſider of it, and wheeling off to the left, they gave over their deſign, and ſaid no more to us for that time; which was very agreeable to our circumſtances, which were but very indifferent for a battle with ſuch a number.

Two days after this, we came to the city of Naun, or Naum; we thanked the governor for his care of us, and collected to the value of an hundred crowns, or thereabouts, which we gave to the ſoldiers ſent to guard us; and here we reſted one day. This is a garriſon indeed, and there were nine hundred ſoldiers kept here; but the reaſon of it was, that formerly the Muſcovite frontiers lay nearer to them than they now do, the Muſcovites having abandoned that part of the country, which lies from this city weſt, for about two hundred miles, as deſolate and unfit for uſe; and more eſpecially being ſo very remote, and ſo difficult to ſend troops

troops thither for its defence: for we had yet above two thouſand miles to Muſcovy, properly ſo called.

After this we paſſed ſeveral great rivers, and two dreadful deſarts; one of which we were ſixteen days paſſing over; and which, as I ſaid, was to be called no man's land; and, on the 13th of April, we came to the frontiers of the Muſcovite dominions. I think the firſt town, or fortreſs, whichever it may be called, that belonged to the Czar of Muſcovy, was called Arguna, being on the weſt ſide of the river Arguna.

I could not but diſcover an infinite ſatisfaction that I was ſo ſoon arrived in, as I called it, a Chriſtian country, or, at leaſt, in a country governed by Chriſtians; for though the Muſcovites do, in my opinion, but juſt deſerve the name of Chriſtians, yet ſuch they pretend to be, and are very devout in their way. It would certainly occur to any man, who travels the world as I have done, and who had any power of reflection; I ſay, it would occur to him, to reflect what a bleſſing it is to be brought into the world where the name of God and a Redeemer is known, worſhipped, and adored: and not where the people, given up by Heaven to ſtrong deluſions, worſhip the devil, and proſtrate themſelves to ſtocks and ſtones; worſhip monſters, elements, horrible-ſhaped animals, and ſtatues or images of monſters. Not a town or city we paſſed through, but had their pagods, their idols, and their temples, and ignorant people worſhipping even the works of their own hands.

Now we came where, at leaſt, a face of the Chriſtian worſhip appeared; where the knee was bowed to Jeſus; and, whether ignorantly or not, yet the Chriſtian religion was owned, and the name of the true God

was called upon and adored; and it made my ſoul rejoice to ſee it. I ſaluted the brave Scots merchant I mentioned above, with my firſt acknowledgment of this; and, taking him by the hand, I ſaid to him, Bleſſed be God, we are once again amongſt Chriſtians. He ſmiled and anſwered, Do not rejoice too ſoon, countryman; theſe Muſcovites are but an odd ſort of Chriſtians; and, but for the name of it, you may ſee very little of the ſubſtance for ſome months farther of our journey.

Well, ſays I, but ſtill it is better than paganiſm, and worſhipping of devils. Why, I will tell you, ſays he, except the Ruſſian ſoldiers in the garriſons, and a few of the inhabitants of the cities upon the road, all the reſt of this country, for above a thouſand miles farther, is inhabited by the worſt and moſt ignorant of pagans; and ſo indeed we found it.

We were now launched into the greateſt piece of ſolid earth, if I underſtand any thing of the ſurface of the globe, that is to be found in any part of the world; we had, at leaſt, twelve thouſand miles to the ſea, eaſtward; two thouſand to the bottom of the Baltick ſea, weſtward; and above three thouſand, if we left that ſea, and went on weſt, to the Britiſh and French channels; we had full five thouſand miles to the Indian or Perſian ſea, ſouth; and about eight hundred to the Frozen ſea, north. Nay, if ſome people may be believed, there might be no ſea, north-eaſt, till we came round the pole, and conſequently into the north-weſt; and ſo had a continent of land into America, the Lord knows where; though I could give ſome reaſons why I believe that to be a miſtake.

As

As we entered into the Muſcovite dominions, a good while before we came to any conſiderable towns, we had nothing to obſerve there but this; firſt, that all the rivers run to the eaſt: as I underſtood by the charts, which ſome in our caravan had with them, it was plain, all thoſe rivers ran into the great river Yamour, or Gamour: this river, by the natural courſe of it, muſt run into the Eaſt ſea, or Chineſe Ocean. The ſtory they tell us, that the mouth of this river is choaked up with bulruſhes of a monſtrous growth, viz. three feet about, and twenty or thirty feet high, I muſt be allowed to ſay I believe nothing of; but, as its navigation is of no uſe, becauſe there is no trade that way, the Tartars, to whom alone it belongs, dealing in nothing but cattle, ſo nobody, that ever I heard of, has been curious enough, either to go down to the mouth of it in boats, or come up from the mouth of it in ſhips, as far as I can find; but this is certain, that this river running eaſt, in the latitude of about fifty degrees, carries a vaſt concourſe of rivers along with it, and finds an ocean to empty itſelf in that latitude; ſo we are ſure of ſea there.

Some leagues to the north of this river, there are ſeveral conſiderable rivers, whoſe ſtreams run as due north as the Yamour runs eaſt, and theſe are all found to join their waters with the great river Tartarus, named ſo from the northernmoſt nations of the Mogul Tartars; who, as the Chineſe ſay, were the firſt Tartars in the world; and who, as our geographers allege, are the Gog and Magog mentioned in ſacred ſtory.

Theſe rivers running all northward, as well as all the other rivers I am yet to ſpeak of, make it evi-

dent that the northern ocean bounds the land alſo on that ſide; ſo that it does not ſeem rational in the leaſt, to think that the land can extend itſelf to join with America on that ſide, or that there is not a communication between the northern and the eaſtern ocean: but of this I ſhall ſay no more; it was my obſervation at that time, and therefore I take notice of it in this place.

We now advanced from the river Arguna by eaſy and moderate journies, and were very viſibly obliged to the care the Czar of Muſcovy has taken to have cities and towns built, in as many places as it is poſſible to place them, where his ſoldiers keep garriſon, ſomething like the ſtationary ſoldiers placed by the Romans in the remoteſt countries of their empire; ſome of which I had read, particularly, were placed in Britain, for the ſecurity of commerce, and for the lodging travellers; and thus it was here: for, wherever we came, though at theſe towns and ſtations the garriſons and governors were Ruſſians, and profeſſed Chriſtians, yet the inhabitants were mere pagans; ſacrificing to idols, and worſhipping the ſun, moon, and ſtars, or all the hoſt of heaven; and not only ſo, but were, of all the heathens and pagans that I ever met with, the moſt barbarous, except only that they did not eat man's fleſh, as our ſavages of America did.

Some inſtances of this we met with in the country between Arguna, where we enter the Muſcovite dominions, and a city of Tartars and Ruſſians together, called Nortziouſky, in which is a continued deſart or foreſt, which coſt us twenty days to travel over. In a village, near the laſt of theſe places, I had the curioſity to go and ſee their way of living, which is moſt brutiſh and unſufferable: they had, I ſuppoſe, a great

great ſacrifice that day; for there ſtood out, upon an old ſtump of a tree, an idol made of wood, frightful as the devil; at leaſt as any thing we can think of to repreſent the devil, can be made: it had a head certainly not ſo much as reſembling any creature that the world ever ſaw; ears as big as goats horns, and as high; eyes as big as a crown-piece; a noſe like a crooked ram's-horn; and a mouth extended four-cornered, like that of a lion, with horrible teeth, hooked like a parrot's under-bill: it was dreſſed up in the filthieſt manner that you could ſuppoſe; its upper garment was of ſheep-ſkins, with the wool outward; a great Tartar bonnet on the head, with two horns growing through it: it was about eight feet high, yet had no feet or legs, or any other proportion of parts.

This ſcarecrow was ſet up at the outer ſide of the village; and, when I came near to it, there were ſixteen or ſeventeen creatures, whether men or women I could not tell, for they make no diſtinction by their habits; theſe lay all flat upon the ground, round this formidable block of ſhapeleſs wood: I ſaw no motion among them, any more than if they had been all logs of wood, like the idol; and, at firſt, I really thought they had been ſo; but, when I came a little nearer, they ſtarted up upon their feet, and raiſed a howling cry, as if it had been ſo many deep-mouthed hounds, and walked away, as if they were diſpleaſed at our diſturbing them: A little way off from the idol, and at the door of a tent or hut, made all of ſheep-ſkins and cow-ſkins dried, ſtood three butchers,—I thought they were ſuch; when I came nearer to them, I found they had long knives in their hands; and, in the middle of the tent, appeared three ſheep killed, and one young bullock or ſteer.

ſteer. Theſe, it ſeems, were ſacrifices to that ſenſeleſs log of an idol; and theſe three men, prieſts belonging to it; and the ſeventeen proſtrated wretches, were the people who brought the offering, and were making their prayers to that ſtock.

I confeſs, I was more moved at their ſtupidity and brutiſh worſhip of a hobgoblin, than ever I was at any thing in my life; to ſee God's moſt glorious and beſt creature, to whom he had granted ſo many advantages, even by creation above the reſt of the works of his hands, veſted with a reaſonable ſoul, and that ſoul adorned with faculties and capacities, adapted both to honour his Maker, and be honoured by him, ſunk and degenerated to a degree ſo very ſtupid as to proſtrate itſelf to a frightful nothing, a mere imaginary object dreſſed up by themſelves, and made terrible to themſelves by their own contrivance, adorned only with clouts and rags; and that this ſhould be the effect of mere ignorance, wrought up into helliſh devotion by the Devil himſelf; who envying to his Maker the homage and adoration of his creatures, had deluded them into ſuch ſordid and brutiſh things as one would think ſhould ſhock nature itſelf.

But what ſignified all the aſtoniſhment and reflection of thoughts; thus it was, and I ſaw it before my eyes, and there was no room to wonder at it, or think it impoſſible: all my admiration turned to rage, and I rode up to the image or monſter, call it what you will, and with my ſword made a ſtroke at the bonnet that was on its head, and cut it in two; and one of our men that was with me, took hold of the ſheep ſkin that covered it, and pulled at it; when behold, a moſt hideous outcry and howling ran through the village, and two or three hundred people

ple came about my ears, ſo that I was glad to ſcour for it, for we ſaw ſome had bows and arrows; but I reſolved from that moment, to viſit them again.

Our caravan reſted three nights at the town, which was about four miles off, in order to provide ſome horſes which they wanted, ſeveral of the horſes having been lamed and jaded with the badneſs of the way, and long march over the laſt deſart; ſo we had ſome leiſure here to put my deſign in execution. I communicated my deſign to the Scots merchant of Moſcow, of whoſe courage I had ſufficient teſtimony, as above: I told him what I had ſeen, and with what indignation I had ſince thought that human nature could be ſo degenerate; I told him, if I could get but four or five men well armed to go with me, I was reſolved to go and deſtroy that vile, abominable idol, and let them ſee that it had no power to help itſelf; and conſequently could not be an object of worſhip, or to be prayed to, much leſs help them that offered ſacrifices to it.

He laughed at me:—Says he, your zeal may be good, but what do you propoſe to yourſelf by it? Propoſe, ſaid I, to vindicate the honour of God, which is inſulted by this devil-worſhip. But how will it vindicate the honour of God, ſaid he, while the people will not be able to know what you mean by it, unleſs you could ſpeak to them, and tell them ſo? and then they will fight you, and beat you too, I'll aſſure you; for they are deſperate fellows, and that eſpecially in defence of their idolatry. Can we not, ſaid I, do it in the night, and then leave them the reaſons and cauſes in writing in their own language? Writing! ſaid he; why, there is not a man in five nations of them, that knows

knows any thing of a letter, or how to read a word any way. Wretched ignorance, ſaid I to him: however, I have a great mind to do it; perhaps nature may draw inferences from it to them, to let them ſee how brutiſh they are to worſhip ſuch horrid things. Look you, Sir, ſaid he, if your zeal prompts you to it ſo warmly, you muſt do it; but in the next place I would have you conſider, theſe wild nations of people are ſubjected by force to the Czar of Muſcovy's dominion, and if you do this, it is ten to one but they will come by thouſands to the Governor of Nertſinſkay, and demand ſatisfaction; and if he cannot give them ſatisfaction, it is ten to one but they revolt; and it will occaſion a new war with all the Tartars in the country.

This, I confeſs, put new thoughts into my head for a while; but I ſtill found that my inclination increaſed for executing the project I had been forming to deſtroy the monſter, if it were poſſible to do it with any ſafety: and upon meeting the Scots merchant by accident the next evening, and conſulting him again, I found he was grown as earneſt for it as myſelf; ſo we ſat down to contrive how we ſhould effectually execute our purpoſe: and when we had laid the ſcheme to our mind, with the aſſiſtance of a truſty companion, and a ſervant or two, we went out privately, and came up to their prieſts in the night; and then, by a ſtratagem, having confined them and their attendants in their houſe or tent, we ſtuffed wild-fire in the filthy idol's mouth and ears; and with the addition of other combuſtible ſtuff, we burned the frightful image to aſhes, without being apprehended.

After the feat was performed, we appeared in the morning among our fellow travellers, exceedingly buſy

in

in getting ready for our journey; nor could any man ſuggeſt that we had been any where but in our beds, as travellers might be ſuppoſed to be, to fit themſelves for the fatigues of the day's journey.

But the affair did not end ſo; the next day, came a great number of the country people to the town-gates, and in a moſt outrageous manner demanded ſatisfaction of the Ruſſian governor, for the inſulting their prieſts, and burning their great Cham-Chi-Thaungu. The people of Nertſinſkay were at firſt in a great conſternation, for they ſaid the Tartars were already no leſs than thirty thouſand ſtrong.

The Ruſſian governor ſent out meſſengers to appeaſe them, and gave them all the good words imaginable; aſſuring them that he knew nothing of it, and that there had not a ſoul in his garriſon been abroad, ſo that it could not be from any body there; but if they could let him know who did it, they ſhould be exemplarily puniſhed. They returned haughtily, that all the country reverenced the great Cham Chi-Thaungu, who dwelt in the ſun, and no mortal would have dared to offer violence to his image but ſome Chriſtian miſcreant; and they therefore reſolved to denounce war againſt him and all the Ruſſians; who, they ſaid, were miſcreants and Chriſtians.

The governor ſtill patient, and unwilling to make a breach, or to have any cauſe of war alleged to be given by him, the Czar having ſtrictly charged them to treat the conquered country with gentleneſs and civility, gave them ſtill all the good words he could. At laſt he told them there was a caravan gone towards Ruſſia that morning, and perhaps it was ſome of them who had done them this injury; and that if they would be ſatis-

fied with that, he would ſend after them, to enquire into it. This ſeemed to appeaſe them a little; and accordingly the governor ſent after us, and gave us a particular account how the thing was; intimating withal, that if any in our caravan had done it, they ſhould make their eſcape; but that whether we had done it or no, we ſhould make all the haſte forward that was poſſible; and that, in the mean time, he would keep them in play as long as he could.

This was very friendly in the governor: however, when it came to the caravan, there was nobody knew any thing of the matter; and as for us that were guilty, we were the leaſt of all ſuſpected. However, the captain of the caravan for the time, took the hint that the governor gave us, and we travelled two days and two nights without any conſiderable ſtop, and then we lay at a village called Plothus; nor did we make any long ſtop here, but haſtened on towards Jarawena, another of the Czar of Muſcovy's colonies, and where we expected we ſhould be ſafe. But upon the ſecond day's march from Plothus, by the clouds of duſt behind us at a great diſtance, ſome of our people began to be ſenſible we were purſued. We had entered a great deſart, and had paſſed by a great lake called Schaks Oſer, when we perceived a very great body of horſe appear on the other ſide of the lake, to the north, we travelling weſt. We obſerved they went away weſt, as we did, but had ſuppoſed we would have taken that ſide of the lake, whereas we very happily took the ſouth ſide; and in two days more they diſappeared again: for they believing we were ſtill before them, puſhed on till they came to the river Udda; a very great river when it

paſſes

paſſes farther north, but where we came to it, we found it narrow and fordable.

The third day, they had either found their miſtake, or had intelligence of us, and came pouring in upon us towards the duſk of the evening. We had, to our great ſatisfaction, juſt pitched upon a place for our camp which was very convenient for the night; for as we were upon a deſart, though but at the beginning of it, that was above five hundred miles over, we had no towns to lodge at, and indeed, expected none but the city Jarawena, which we had yet two days march to; the deſart, however, had ſome few woods in it on this ſide, and little rivers, which ran all into the great river Udda: it was in a narrow ſtrait, between little, but very thick woods, that we pitched our little camp for that night, expecting to be attacked in the night.

Nobody knew but ourſelves, what we were purſued for: but as it was uſual for the Mogul Tartars to go about in troops in that deſart, ſo the caravans always fortify themſelves every night againſt them, as gainſt armies of robbers; and it was therefore no new thing to be purſued.

But we had this night, of all the nights of our travels, a moſt advantageous camp; for we lay between two woods, with a little rivulet running juſt before our front, ſo that we could not be ſurrounded, or attacked any way but in our front or rear. We took care alſo, to make our front as ſtrong as we could, by placing our packs, with our camels and horſes, all in a line, on the inſide of the river, and felling ſome trees in our rear.

In this poſture we encamped for the night; but the enemy was upon us before we had finiſhed our ſituation. They did not come on us like thieves, as we expected,

expected, but ſent three meſſengers to us, to demand the men to be delivered to them that had abuſed their prieſts, and burned their god Cham Chi-Thaungu with fire, that they might burn them with fire; and upon this, they ſaid, they would go away, and do us no farther harm; otherwiſe they would deſtroy us all. Our men looked very blank at this meſſage, and began to ſtare at one another, to ſee who looked with the moſt guilt in their faces: but nobody, was the word; nobody did it. The leader of the caravan ſent word, he was well aſſured that it was not done by any of our camp; that we were peaceable merchants, travelling on our buſineſs; that we had done no harm to them, or to any one elſe: and that, therefore, they muſt look farther for their enemies who had injured them, for we were not the people: ſo deſired them not to diſturb us; for if they did, we ſhould defend ourſelves.

They were far from being ſatisfied with this for an anſwer; but a great croud of them came running down in the morning, by break of day, to our camp; but ſeeing us in ſuch an unaccountable ſituation, they durſt come no farther than the brook in our front, where they ſtood, and ſhewed us ſuch a number, that indeed terrified us very much; for thoſe that ſpoke leaſt of them, ſpoke of ten thouſand. Here they ſtood, and looked at us a while, and then ſetting up a great howl, they let fly a cloud of arrows among us; but we were well enough fortified for that, for we ſheltered under our baggage, and I do not remember that one of us was hurt,

Some time after this, we ſaw them move a little to our right, and expected them on the rear; when a cunning fellow, a Coſſack of Jarawena, in the pay of the

the Muſcovites, calling to the leader of the caravan, ſaid to him, I'll go ſend all theſe people away to Siheilka; this was a city, four or five days journey at leaſt, to the right, and rather behind us. So he takes his bow and arrows, and getting on horſeback, he rides away from our rear directly, as it were back to Nertſinſkay; after this, he takes a great circuit about, and comes directly on the army of the Tartars, as if he had been ſent expreſs to tell them a long ſtory, that the people who had burnt the Cham Chi-Thaungu, were gone to Siheilka, with a caravan of miſcreants, as he called them, that is to ſay Chriſtians; and that they had reſolved to burn the god Schal-Iſar, belonging to the Tongueſes.

As this fellow was himſelf a mere Tartar, and perfectly ſpoke their language, he counterfeited ſo well, that they all took it from him, and away they drove, in a moſt violent hurry, to Siheilka, which, it ſeems, was five days journey to the north; and, in leſs than three hours, they were entirely out of our ſight, and we never heard any more of them, nor whether they went to Siheilka or no.

So we paſſed ſafely on to Jarawena, where there was a garriſon of Muſcovites, and there we reſted five days; the caravan being exceedingly fatigued with the laſt day's hard march, and with want of reſt in the night.

From this city we had a frightful deſart, which held us twenty-three days march. We furniſhed ourſelves with ſome tents here, for the better accommodating ourſelves in the night; and the leader of the caravan procured ſixteen carriages, or waggons of the country, for carrying our water or proviſions; and theſe carriages were our defence, every night, round our little camp; ſo that had the Tartars appeared, unleſs they

had been very numerous indeed, they would not have been able to hurt us.

We may well be ſuppoſed to want reſt again after this long journey; for in this deſart we neither ſaw houſe or tree, or ſcarce a buſh; though we ſaw abundance of the ſable hunters, who are all Tartars of the Mogul Tartary, of which this country is a part; and they frequently attack ſmall caravans, but we ſaw no numbers of them together.

After we had paſſed this deſart, we came into a country pretty well inhabited; that is to ſay, we found towns and caſtles, ſettled by the Czar of Muſcovy, with garriſons of ſtationary ſoldiers, to protect the caravans, and defend the country againſt the Tartars; who would, otherwiſe, make it very dangerous travelling; and his Czariſh Majeſty has given ſuch ſtrict orders for the well guarding the caravans and merchants, that, if there are any Tartars heard of in the country, detachments of the garriſons are always ſent to ſee the travellers ſafe, from ſtation to ſtation.

And thus the governor of Adinſkoy, whom I had an opportunity to make a viſit to, by means of the Scots merchant, who was acquainted with him, offered us a guard of fifty men, if we thought there was any danger, to the next ſtation.

I thought, long before this, that, as we came nearer to Europe, we ſhould find the country better peopled, and the people more civilized; but I found myſelf miſtaken in both; for we had yet the nation of the Tongueſes to paſs through, where we ſaw the ſame tokens of paganiſm and barbarity as before; only, as they were conquered by the Muſcovites, they were not ſo dangerous; but for rudeneſs of manners and idolatry, no people in the world ever went beyond them: they are

cloathed all in ſkins of beaſts, and their houſes are built of the ſame; you know not a man from a woman, neither by the ruggedneſs of their countenances or their cloaths; and in the winter, when the ground is covered with ſnow, they live under-ground in vaults, which have cavities going from one to another.

If the Tartars had their Cham Chi-Thaungu, for a whole village or country, theſe had idols in every hut and every cave: beſides, they worſhip the ſtars, the ſun, the water, the ſnow, and, in a word, every thing they don't underſtand, and they underſtand but very little; ſo that every element, every uncommon thing, ſets them a ſacrificing. But I am no more to deſcribe people than countries, any farther than my own ſtory comes to be concerned in them: I met with nothing peculiar to myſelf in all this country, which I reckon was from the deſart I ſpoke of laſt, at leaſt four hundred miles, half of it being another deſart, which took us up twelve days ſevere travelling, without houſe or tree; but were obliged again to carry our own proviſions, as well water as bread. After we were out of this deſart, and had travelled two days, we came to Janezay, a Muſcovite city or ſtation, on the great river Janezay, which they told us there, parted Europe from Aſia.

And yet, here I obſerved ignorance and paganiſm ſtill prevailed, except in the Muſcovite garriſons; all the country between the river Oby and the river Janezay, is as entirely pagan, and the people as barbarous, as the remoteſt of the Tartars; nay, as any nation, for ought I know, in Aſia or America. I alſo found, which I obſerved to the Muſcovite governors whom I had opportunity to converſe with, that the poor pagans are not much wiſer or nearer Chriſtianity for being under the Muſcovite government, which they acknow-

ledged was true enough; but that, as they ſaid, was none of their buſineſs: that if the Czar expected to convert his Siberian, Tongueſe or Tartar ſubjects, it ſhould be done by ſending clergymen among them, not ſoldiers; and they added, with more ſincerity than I expected, that they found it was not ſo much the concern of their monarch to make the people Chriſtians, as it was to make them ſubjects.

From this river to the great river Oby, we croſſed a wild uncultivated country, barren of people and good management, otherwiſe it is in itſelf a moſt pleaſant, fruitful, and agreeable country. What inhabitants we found in it are all pagans, except ſuch as are ſent among them from Ruſſia: for this is the country, I mean on both ſides the river Oby, whither the Muſcovite criminals that are not put to death, are baniſhed, and from whence, it is next to impoſſible they ſhould ever come away.

I have nothing material to ſay of my particular affairs, till I came to Tobolſki, the capital city of Siberia, where I continued ſome time on the following occaſion.

We had now been almoſt ſeven months on our journey, and winter began to come on apace; whereupon my partner and I called a council about our particular affairs, in which we found it proper, as we were bound for England, and not for Moſcow, to conſider how to diſpoſe of ourſelves. They told us of ſledges and rein deer, to carry us over the ſnow in the winter time; and indeed they have ſuch things, that it would be incredible to relate the particulars of; by which means, the Ruſſians travel more in the winter than they can in ſummer: becauſe in theſe ſledges they are able to run night and day; the ſnow being frozen, is one univerſal covering

to nature; by which the hills, the vales, the rivers, the lakes, are all ſmooth and hard as a ſtone, and they run upon the ſurface, without any regard to what is underneath.

But I had no occaſion to puſh at a winter journey of this kind; I was bound to England, not to Moſcow, and my route lay two ways; either I muſt go on as the caravan went, till I came to Jaroſlaw, and then go off weſt for Narva, and the gulph of Finland, and ſo to Dantzick, where I might poſſibly ſell my China cargo to good advantage; or I muſt leave the caravan at a little town on the Dwina, from whence I had but ſix days by water to Archangel, and from thence might be ſure of ſhipping, either to England, Holland, or Hamburgh.

Now to go any of theſe journies in the winter would have been prepoſterous; for as to Dantzick, the Baltic would have been frozen up, and I could not get paſſage; and to go by land in thoſe countries, was far leſs ſafe than among the Mogul Tartars; likewiſe, to go to Archangel in October, all the ſhips would be gone from thence, and even the merchants who dwell there in ſummer, retire ſouth to Moſcow in the winter, when the ſhips are gone; ſo that I could have nothing but extremity of cold to encounter, with a ſcarcity of proviſions, and muſt lie in an empty town all the winter: ſo that, upon the whole, I thought it much my better way to let the caravan go, and make proviſion to winter where I was, viz. at Tobolſki, in Siberia, in the latitude of about ſixty degrees; where I was ſure of three things to wear out a cold winter with, viz. plenty of proviſion, ſuch as the country afforded, a warm houſe, with fuel enough, and of excellent company; of all which, I ſhall give a full account in its place.

I was now in a quite different climate from my beloved iſland, where I never felt cold, except when I had my ague; on the contrary, I had much to do to bear any cloaths on my back, and never made any fire but without doors, and for my neceſſity in dreſſing my food, &c. Now I made me three good veſts, with large robes or gowns over them, to hang down to the feet, and button cloſe to the wriſts; and all theſe lined with furs, to make them ſufficiently warm.

As to a warm houſe, I muſt confeſs, I greatly diſliked our way in England, of making fires in every room in the houſe in open chimnies, which, when the fire was out, always kept the air in the room cold as the climate; but taking an apartment in a good houſe in the town, I ordered a chimney to be built like a furnace, in the center of ſix ſeveral rooms, like a ſtove; the funnel to carry the ſmoke went up one way, the door to come at the fire went in another, and all the rooms were kept equally warm, but no fire ſeen, juſt as they heat the bagnios in England. By this means, we had always the ſame climate in all the rooms, and an equal heat was preſerved; and how cold ſoever it was without, it was always warm within, and yet we ſaw no fire, nor were ever incommoded with ſmoke.

The moſt wonderful thing of all was, that it ſhould be poſſible to meet with good company here, in a country ſo barbarous as that of the moſt northerly parts of Europe, near the frozen ocean, within but a very few degrees of Nova Zembla.

But this being the country where the ſtate criminals of Muſcovy, as I obſerved before, are all baniſhed, this city was full of noblemen, gentlemen, ſoldiers, and courtiers of Muſcovy. Here was the famous

Prince

Prince Gallitzen, the old General Roboſtiſki, and ſeveral other perſons of note, and ſome ladies.

By means of my Scots merchant, whom nevertheleſs I parted with here, I made an acquaintance with ſeveral of theſe gentlemen; and from theſe, in the long winter nights in which I ſtaid here, I received ſeveral very agreeable viſits. It was talking one night with Prince ———, one of the baniſhed miniſters of ſtate belonging to the Czar of Muſcovy, that the diſcourſe of my particular caſe began. He had been telling me abundance of fine things of the greatneſs, the magnificence, the dominions, and the abſolute power of the Emperor of the Ruſſians: I interrupted him, and told him, I was a greater and more powerful prince than ever the Czar of Muſcovy was, though my dominions were not ſo large, or my people ſo many. The Ruſſian grandee looked a little ſurprized, and, fixing his eyes ſteadily upon me, began to wonder what I meant.

I told him, his wonder would ceaſe when I had explained myſelf. Firſt, I told him, I had the abſolute diſpoſal of the lives and fortunes of all my ſubjects; that, notwithſtanding my abſolute power, I had not one perſon diſaffected to my government, or to my perſon, in all my dominions. He ſhook his head at that, and ſaid, there indeed, I outdid the Czar of Muſcovy. I told him, that all the lands in my kingdom were my own, and all my ſubjects were not only my tenants, but tenants at will; that they would all fight for me to the laſt drop; and that never tyrant, for ſuch I acknowledged myſelf to be, was ever ſo univerſally beloved, and yet ſo horribly feared by his ſubjects.

After amuſing him with theſe riddles in government for a while, I opened the caſe, and told him the ſtory at large of my living in the iſland; and how I managed

both myſelf and the people that were under me, juſt as I have ſince minuted it down. They were exceedingly taken with the ſtory, and eſpecially the Prince, who told me with a ſigh, that the true greatneſs of life was to be maſters of ourſelves; that he would not have exchanged ſuch a ſtate of life as mine, to be Czar of Muſcovy: and that he found more felicity in the retirement he ſeemed to be baniſhed to there, than ever he found in the higheſt authority he enjoyed in the court of his maſter the Czar; that the height of human wiſdom was to bring our tempers down to our circumſtances, and to make a calm within, under the weight of the greateſt ſtorms without. When he came firſt hither, he ſaid, he uſed to tear the hair from his head, and the cloaths from his back, as others had done before him; but a little time and conſideration had made him look into himſelf, as well as round him, to things without; that he found the mind of man, if it was but once brought to reflect upon the ſtate of univerſal life, and how little this world was concerned in its true felicity, was perfectly capable of making a felicity for itſelf, fully ſatisfying to itſelf, and ſuitable to its own beſt ends and deſires, with but very little aſſiſtance from the world; that air to breathe in, food to ſuſtain life, cloaths for warmth, and liberty for exerciſe, in order to health, compleated, in his opinion, all that the world could do for us; and though the greatneſs, the authority, the riches and the pleaſures which ſome enjoyed in the world, had much in them that was agreeable to us, yet he obſerved, that all thoſe things chiefly gratified the coarſeſt of our affections, ſuch as our ambition, our particular pride, our avarice, our vanity, and our ſenſuality: all which being the mere product of the worſt part of man, were in themſelves crimes,

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and had in them the ſeeds of all manner of crimes; but neither were related to, or concerned with any of thoſe virtues that conſtituted us wiſe men; or of thoſe graces that diſtinguiſhed us as Chriſtians: that being now deprived of all the fancied felicity which he enjoyed in the full exerciſe of all thoſe vices, he ſaid, he was at leiſure to look upon the dark ſide of them, where he found all manner of deformity, and was now convinced, that virtue only makes a man truly wiſe, rich, and great, and preſerves him in the way to a ſuperior happineſs in a future ſtate: and in this, he ſaid, they were more happy in their baniſhment, than all their enemies were, who had the full poſſeſſion of all the wealth and power they had left behind them.

Nor, Sir, ſays he, do I bring my mind to this politically, by the neceſſity of my circumſtances, which ſome call miſerable; but, if I know any thing of myſelf, I would not now go back, though the Czar my maſter ſhould call me, and reinſtate me in all my former grandeur: I ſay I would no more go back to it, than I believe my ſoul, when it ſhall be delivered from this priſon of the body, and has had a taſte of the glorious ſtate beyond life, would come back to the gaol of fleſh and blood it is now incloſed in, and leave Heaven, to deal in the dirt and crime of human affairs.

He ſpoke this with ſo much warmth in his temper, ſo much earneſtneſs and motion of his ſpirits, that it was evident it was the true ſenſe of his ſoul:—There was no room to doubt his ſincerity. I told him, I once thought myſelf a kind of monarch in my old ſtation, of which I had given him an account; but that I thought he was not a monarch only, but a great conqueror; for he that has got a victory over his own exorbitant deſires, and the abſolute dominion over him-

himſelf, whoſe reaſon entirely governs his will, is certainly greater than he that conquers a city. But, my Lord, ſaid I, ſhall I take the liberty to aſk you a queſtion? With all my heart, ſays he:—If the door of your liberty was opened, ſaid I, would you not take hold of it, to deliver you from this exile?

Hold, ſaid he; your queſtion is ſubtle, and requires ſome ſerious, juſt diſtinctions to give it a ſincere anſwer; and then I will give it you from the bottom of my heart. Nothing that I know of, in this world, would move me to deliver myſelf from this ſtate of baniſhment, except theſe two; firſt, the enjoyment of my relations; and, ſecondly, a little warmer climate: but, I proteſt to you, that to go back to the pomp of the court, the glory, the power, the hurry of a miniſter of ſtate; the wealth, the gaiety, and the pleaſures of a courtier; if my maſter ſhould ſend me word, this moment, that he reſtores me to all he baniſhed me from, I proteſt, if I know myſelf at all, I would not leave this wilderneſs, theſe deſarts, and theſe frozen lakes, for the palace at Moſcow.

But, my Lord, ſaid I, perhaps you not only are baniſhed from the pleaſures of the court, and from the power, and authority, and wealth you enjoyed before, but you may be abſent too from ſome of the conveniencies of life; your eſtate, perhaps, confiſcated, and your effects plundered; and the ſupplies left you here, may not be ſuitable to the ordinary demands of life.

Aye, ſays he, that is as you ſuppoſe me to be a lord, or a prince, &c. So indeed I am; but you are now to conſider me only as a man, a human creature, not at all diſtinguiſhed from another; and ſo I can ſuffer no want, unleſs I ſhould be viſited with ſickneſs and diſtem-

tempers. However, to put the queſtion out of diſpute, you ſee our manner: we are, in this place, five perſons of rank; we live perfectly retired, as ſuited to a ſtate of baniſhment; we have ſomething reſcued from the ſhipwreck of our fortunes, which keeps us from the mere neceſſity of hunting for food; but the poor ſoldiers, who are here without that help, live in as much plenty as we, who go into the woods and catch ſables and foxes: the labour of a month will maintain them a year; and, as the way of living is not expenſive, ſo it is not hard to get ſufficient to ourſelves. So that objection is out of doors.

I have not room to give a full account of the moſt agreeable converſation I had with this truly great man; in all which he ſhewed that his mind was ſo inſpired with a ſuperior knowledge of things, ſo ſupported by religion, as well as by a vaſt ſhare of wiſdom, that his contempt of the world was really as much as he had expreſſed, and that he was always the ſame to the laſt, as will appear in the ſtory I am going to tell.

I had been here eight months, and a dark, dreadful winter I thought it; the cold ſo intenſe, that I could not ſo much as look abroad without being wrapt in furs, and a maſk of fur before my face, or rather a hood, with only a hole for breath, and two for ſight: the little day-light we had, was, as we reckoned, for three months, not above five hours a-day, and ſix at moſt; only that the ſnow lying on the ground continually, and the weather clear, it was never quite dark. Our horſes were kept, or rather ſtarved, under-ground; and as for our ſervants, for we hired three ſervants here to look after our horſes and ſelves, we had, every now and then, their fingers and toes to thaw and take care of, leaſt they ſhould mortify and fall off.

It is true, within doors we were warm, the houſes being cloſe, the walls thick, the lights ſmall, and the glaſs all double: our food was chiefly the fleſh of deer, dried and cured in the ſeaſon; bread good enough, but baked as biſcuits; dried fiſh of ſeveral ſorts, and ſome fleſh of mutton and of the buffaloes, which is pretty good meat. All the ſtores of proviſion for the winter are laid up in the ſummer, and well cured; our drink was water, mixed with aqua-vitæ, inſtead of brandy; and, for a treat, mead inſtead of wine; which, however, they have excellent good. The hunters, who venture abroad all weathers, frequently brought us in freſh veniſon, and ſometimes bear's fleſh, but we did not much care for the laſt. We had a good ſtock of tea, with which we treated our friends as above, and we lived ver chearfully and well, all things conſidered.

It was now March, and the days grown conſiderably longer, and the weather at leaſt tolerable; ſo the other travellers began to prepare ſledges to carry them over the ſnow, and to get things ready to be going; but my meaſures being fixed, as I have ſaid, for Archangel, and not for Muſcovy or the Baltic, I made no motion; knowing very well that the ſhips from the ſouth do not ſet out for that part of the world till May or June, and that if I was there by the beginning of Auguſt, it would be as ſoon as any ſhips would be ready to go away; and therefore, I ſay, I made no haſte to be gone, as others did; in a word, I ſaw a great many people, nay, all the travellers, go away before me. It ſeems, every year they go from thence to Muſcovy for trade, viz to carry furs, and buy neceſſaries with them, which they bring back to furniſh their ſhops; alſo others went on

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the ſame errand to Archangel, but then they all alſo being to come back again, above eight hundred miles, went all out before me.

In the month of May I began to make all ready to pack up; and, as I was doing this, it occurred to me that, ſeeing all theſe people were baniſhed by the Czar of Muſcovy to Siberia, and yet, when they came there, were left at liberty to go whither they would, why they did not then go away to any part of the world, wherever they thought fit; and I began to examine what ſhould hinder them from making ſuch an attempt.

But my wonder was over when I entered upon that ſubject with the perſon I have mentioned, who anſwered me thus: Conſider, firſt, Sir, ſaid he, the place where we are, and, ſecondly, the condition we are in; eſpecially, ſaid he, the generality of the people who are baniſhed hither. We are ſurrounded, ſaid he, with ſtronger things than bars or bolts; on the north ſide an unnavigable ocean, where ſhip never ſailed, and boat never ſwam; every other way, we have above a thouſand miles to paſs through the Czar's own dominions, and by ways utterly impaſſable, except by the roads made by the government, and through the towns garriſoned by his troops; ſo that we could neither paſs undiſcovered by the road, or ſubſiſt any other way; ſo that it is in vain to attempt it.

I was ſilenced indeed at once, and found that they were in a priſon every jot as ſecure as if they had been locked up in the caſtle at Moſcow: however, it came into my thoughts, that I might certainly be made an inſtrument to procure the eſcape of this excellent perſon; and that, whatever hazard I run, I would certainly try if I could carry him off. Upon this I took an occaſion, one evening, to tell him my thoughts. I repreſented

repreſented to him, that it was very eaſy for me to carry him away, there being no guard over him in the country; and as I was not going to Moſcow, but to Archangel, and that I went in the nature of a caravan, by which I was not obliged to lie in the ſtationary towns in the deſart, but could encamp every night where I would, we might eaſily paſs uninterrupted to Archangel, where I would immediately ſecure him on board an Engliſh ſhip, and carry him ſafe along with me; and as to his ſubſiſtence, and other particulars, it ſhould be my care, till he could better ſupply himſelf.

He heard me very attentively, and looked earneſtly on me all the while I ſpoke; nay, I could ſee in his very face, that what I ſaid put his ſpirits into an exceeding ferment; his colour frequently changed, his eyes looked red, and his heart fluttered, that it might be even perceived in his countenance; nor could he immediately anſwer me when I had done, and as it were expected what he would ſay to it; but after he had paused a little, he embraced me, and ſaid, How unhappy are we, unguarded creatures as we are, that even our greateſt acts of friendſhips are made ſnares unto us, and we are made tempters of one another! My dear friend, ſaid he, your offer is ſo ſincere, has ſuch kindneſs in it, is ſo diſintereſted in itſelf, and is ſo calculated for my advantage, that I muſt have very little knowledge of the world, if I did not both wonder at it, and acknowledge the obligation I have upon me to you for it. But did you believe I was ſincere in what I have often ſaid to you of my contempt of the world? Did you believe I ſpoke my very ſoul to you, and that I had really obtained that degree of felicity here, that had placed me above all that the world could give me? Did you believe I was ſincere, when I told you I would not

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go back, if I was recalled even to be all that I once was in the court with the favour of the Czar my maſter? Did you believe me, my friend, to be an honeſt man; or did you believe me to be a boaſting hypocrite? Here he ſtopped, as if he would hear what I would ſay; but indeed I ſoon after perceived that he ſtopped becauſe his ſpirits were in motion, his great heart was full of ſtruggles, and he could not go on. I was, I confeſs, aſtoniſhed at the thing as well as at the man, and I uſed ſome arguments with him to urge him to ſet himſelf free; that he ought to look upon this as a door opened by heaven for his deliverance, and a ſummons by Providence, who has the care and diſpoſition of all events, to do himſelf good, and to render himſelf uſeful in the world.

He had by this time recovered himſelf: How do you know Sir, ſays he, warmly, but that inſtead of a ſummons from heaven, it may be a feint of another inſtrument; repreſenting in alluring colours to me the ſhew of felicity as a deliverance, which may in itſelf be my ſnare, and tend directly to my ruin? Here I am free from the temptation of returning to my former miſeable greatneſs: there I am not ſure but that all the ſeeds of pride, ambition, avarice and luxury, which I know remain in nature, may revive and take root, and in a word, again overwhelm me; and then the happy priſoner, whom you ſee now maſter of his ſoul's liberty, ſhall be the miſerable ſlave of his own ſenſes, in the full of all perſonal liberty.

Dear Sir, let me remain in this bleſſed confinement, baniſhed from the crimes of life, rather than purchaſe a ſhew of freedom at the expence of the liberty of my reaſon, and at the future happineſs which I now have in my view, but ſhall then, I fear, quickly

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loſe ſight of; for I am but fleſh; a man, a mere man; have paſſions and affections as likely to poſſeſs and overthrow me as any man: O be not my friend and tempter both together.

If I was ſurprized before, I was quite dumb now, and ſtood ſilent, looking at him, and indeed admiring what I ſaw. The ſtruggle in his ſoul was ſo great, that though the weather was extremely cold, it put him into a moſt violent ſweat, and I found he wanted to give vent to his mind; ſo I ſaid a word or two, that I would leave him to conſider of it, and wait on him again, and then I withdrew to my own apartment.

Above two hours after, I heard ſomebody at, or near the door of my room, and I was going to open the door, but he had opened it, and came in. My dear friend, ſays he, you had almoſt overſet me, but I am recovered. Do not take it ill that I do not cloſe with your offer; I aſſure you it is not for want of ſenſe of the kindneſs of it in you; and I came to make the moſt ſincere acknowledgment of it to you; but I hope I have got the victory over myſelf.

My lord, ſaid I, I hope you are fully ſatisfied that you do not reſiſt the call of heaven. Sir, ſaid he, if it had been from heaven, the ſame power would have influenced me to have accepted it: but I hope, and am fully ſatisfied, that it is from heaven that I declined it; and I have infinite ſatisfaction in the parting, that you ſhall leave me an honeſt man ſtill, though not a free-man.

I had nothing to do but to acquieſce, and make profeſſions to him of my having no end in it, but a ſincere deſire to ſerve him. He embraced me very paſſionately, and aſſured me he was ſenſible of that, and

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ſhould always acknowledge it, and with that he offered me a very fine preſent of ſables, too much indeed for me to accept from a man in his circumſtances, and I would have avoided them, but he would not be refuſed.

The next morning I ſent my ſervant to his lordſhip with a ſmall preſent of tea, and two pieces of China damaſk, and four little wedges of Japan gold, which did not all weigh above ſix ounces, or thereabout, but were far ſhort of the value of his ſables, which indeed, when I came to England, I found worth near 200l. He accepted the tea, and one piece of the damaſk, and one of the pieces of gold, which had a fine ſtamp upon it, of the Japan coinage, which I found he took for the rarity of it, but would not take any more; and he ſent word by my ſervant, that he deſired to ſpeak with me.

When I came to him, he told me, I knew what had paſſed between us, and hoped I would not move him any more in that affair; but that, ſince I had made ſuch a generous offer to him, he aſked me, if I had kindneſs enough to offer the ſame to another perſon that he would name to me, in whom he had a great ſhare of concern. I told him, that I could not ſay I inclined to do ſo much for any but himſelf, for whom I had a particular value, and ſhould have been glad to have been the inſtrument of his deliverance; however, if he would pleaſe to name the perſon to me, I would give him my anſwer.—He told me, it was his only ſon; who, though I had not ſeen him, yet he was in the ſame condition with himſelf, and above two hundred miles from him, on the other ſide the Oby; but that, if I conſented, he would ſend for him.

I made no heſitation, but told him I would do it. I made ſome ceremony in letting him underſtand that it was wholly on his account; and that, ſeeing I could not prevail on him, I would ſhew my reſpect to him, by my concern for his ſon; but theſe things are too tedious to repeat here. He ſent away the next day for his ſon; and, in about twenty days, he came back with the meſſenger, bringing ſix or ſeven horſes, loaded with very rich furs, and which, in the whole, amounted to a very great value.

His ſervants brought the horſes into the town, but left the young lord at a diſtance, till night, when he came incognito into our apartment, and his father preſented him to me; and, in ſhort, we concerted the manner of our travelling, and every thing proper for the journey.

I had bought a conſiderable quantity of ſables, black fox ſkins, fine ermines, and ſuch other furs as are very rich; I ſay, I had bought them in that city, in exchange for ſome of the goods I had brought from China; in particular for the cloves and nutmegs, of which I ſold the greateſt part here, and the reſt afterwards at Archangel, for a much better price than I could have done at London; and my partner, who was ſenſible of the profit, and whoſe buſineſs more particularly than mine was merchandize, was mightily pleaſed with our ſtay, on account of the traffick we made here.

It was the beginning of June when I left this remote place, a city I believe little heard of in the world; and indeed it is ſo far out of the road of commerce, that I know not how it ſhould be much talked of. We were now come to a very ſmall caravan, being only thirty-two horſes and camels in all, and all of them paſſed for mine,

mine, though my new gueſt was proprietor of eleven of them: it was moſt natural alſo that I ſhould take more ſervants with me than I had before; and the young lord paſſed for my ſteward: what great man I paſſed for myſelf, I know not, neither did it concern me to enquire. We had here the worſt and the largeſt deſart to paſs over that we met with in all the journey; indeed I call it the worſt, becauſe the way was very deep in ſome places, and very uneven in others; the beſt we had to ſay for it was, that we thought we had no troops of Tartars or robbers to fear, and that they never came on this ſide the river Oby, or at leaſt but very ſeldom; but we found it otherwiſe.

My young lord had a faithful Siberian ſervant, who was perfectly acquainted with the country, and led us by private roads, that we avoided coming into the principal towns and cities upon the great road, ſuch as Tumen, Soloy-Kamſkoi, and ſeveral others; becauſe the Muſcovite garriſons which are kept there, are very curious and ſtrict in their obſervation upon travellers, and ſearching leſt any of the baniſhed perſons of note ſhould make their eſcape that way into Muſcovy; but by this means, as we were kept out of the cities, ſo our whole journey was a deſart, and we were obliged to encamp and lie in our tents, when we might have had very good accommodation in the cities on the way: this the young lord was ſo ſenſible of, that he would not allow us to lie abroad when we came to ſeveral cities on the way, but lay abroad himſelf, with his ſervant, in the woods, and met us always at the appointed places.

We were juſt entered Europe, having paſſed the river Kama, which in theſe parts is the boundary between

Europe and Aſia, and the firſt city on the European ſide was called Soloy Kamſkoi, which is as much as to ſay, the great city on the river Kama; and here we thought to ſee ſome evident alteration in the people, but we were miſtaken; for as we had a vaſt deſart to paſs, which is near ſeven hundred miles long in ſome places, but not above two hundred miles over where we paſſed it, ſo till we came paſt that horrible place, we found very little difference between that country and the Mogul Tartary, the people moſtly pagans, and little better than the ſavages of America; their houſes and towns full of idols, and their way of living wholly barbarous, except in the cities as above, and the villages near them, where they are Chriſtians, as they call themſelves, of the Greek church; but have their religion mingled with ſo many relics of ſuperſtition, that it is ſcarce to be known in ſome places from mere ſorcery and witchcraft.

In paſſing this foreſt I thought indeed we muſt, (after all our dangers were, to our imagination eſcaped, as before,) have been plundered and robbed, and perhaps murdered by a troop of thieves; of what country they were I am yet at a loſs to know, but they were all on horſeback, carried bows and arrows, and were at firſt about forty-five in number; they came ſo near to us as within two muſket-ſhots, and aſking no queſtions, they ſurrounded us with their horſes, and looked very earneſtly upon us twice: at length they placed themſelves juſt in our way; upon which we drew up in a little line before our camels, being not above ſixteen men in all; and being drawn up thus, we halted, and ſent out the Siberian ſervant who attended his lord, to ſee who they were: his maſter was the more willing to let him go,

go, becauſe he was not a little apprehenſive that they were a Siberian troop ſent out after him. The man came up near them with a flag of truce, and called to them; but though he ſpoke ſeveral of their languages, or dialects of languages rather, he could not underſtand a word they ſaid: however, after ſome ſigns to him not to come nearer to them, at his peril, the fellow came back no wiſer than he went; only that by their dreſs, he ſaid, he believed them to be ſome Tartars of Kalmuck, or of the Circaſſian hords, and that there muſt be more of them upon the great deſart, though he never heard that any of them were ſeen ſo far north before.

About an hour after, they again made a motion to attack us, and rode round our little wood, to ſee where they might break in; but finding us always ready to face them, they went off again; and we reſolved not to ſtir from the place for that night.

This was ſmall comfort to us; however, we had no remedy: there was on our left hand, at about a quarter of a mile's diſtance, a little grove, and very near the road; I immediately reſolved we ſhould advance to thoſe trees, and fortify ourſelves as well as we could there; for firſt, I conſidered, that the trees would in a great meaſure cover us from their arrows; and in the next place, they could not come to charge us in a body: it was indeed, my old Portugueſe pilot who propoſed it; and who had this excellency attending him, namely, that he was always readieſt, and moſt apt to direct and encourage us in caſes of the moſt danger. We advanced immediately, with what ſpeed we could, and gained that little wood: the Tartars or thieves, for we knew not what to call them, keeping their ſtand, and not attempting to hinder us. When we came thither, we

found, to our great ſatisfaction, that it was a ſwampy piece of ground, and on the one ſide, a very great ſpring of water, which running out in a little brook, was, a little farther, joined by another of the like bigneſs; and was, in ſhort, the ſource of a conſiderable river, called afterwards the Wirtſka: the trees which grew about this ſpring were not above two hundred, but very large, and ſtood pretty thick; ſo that as ſoon as we got in, we ſaw ourſelves perfectly ſafe from the enemy, unleſs they alighted, and attacked us on foot.

While we ſtaid here waiting the motion of the enemy ſome hours, without perceiving they made any motions, our Portugueſe, with ſome help, cut ſeveral arms of trees half off, and laid them hanging acroſs from one tree to another, and in a manner fenced us in; when, about two hours before night, they came down directly upon us; and though we had not perceived it, we found they had been joined by ſome more of the ſame, ſo that they were near fourſcore horſe; whereof, however, we fancied ſome were women:—They came on till they were within half ſhot of our little wood, when we fired one muſket without ball; and called to them in the Ruſſian tongue, to know what they wanted, and bade them keep off; but they came on with a double fury up to the wood ſide, not imagining we were ſo barricaded that they could not eaſily break in: our old pilot was our captain, as well as our engineer, and deſired us not to fire upon them till they came within piſtol-ſhot, that we might be ſure to kill; and that when we did fire, we ſhould be ſure to take good aim: we bade him give the word of command, which he delayed ſo long, that they were ſome of them within two pikes length of us when we let fly.

We

We aimed ſo true, that we killed fourteen of them, and wounded ſeveral others, as alſo ſeveral of their horſes: for we had all of us loaded our pieces with two or three bullets at leaſt.

They were terribly ſurprized with our fire, and retreated immediately, about one hundred rods from us, in which time we loaded our pieces again, and ſeeing them keep that diſtance, we ſallied out, and catched four or five of their horſes, whoſe riders we ſuppoſed were killed; and coming up to the dead, we judged they were Tartars, but knew not from what country, or how they came to make an excurſion ſuch an unuſual length.

We ſlept little, you may be ſure; but ſpent the moſt part of the night in ſtrengthening our ſituation, and barricading the entrances into the wood, and keeping a ſtrict watch. We waited for day-light, and when it came, it gave us a very unwelcome diſcovery indeed: for the enemy, who we thought were diſcouraged with the reception they met with, were now greatly increaſed, and had ſet up eleven or twelve huts or tents, as if they were reſolved to beſiege us; and this little camp they had pitched upon the open plain, about three quarters of a mile from us. We were indeed ſurpriſed at this diſcovery; and now, I confeſs, I gave myſelf over for loſt, and all that I had: the loſs of my effects did not lie ſo near me, though very conſiderable, as the thoughts of falling into the hands of ſuch barbarians, at the latter end of my journey, after ſo many difficulties and hazards as I had gone through, and even in ſight of our port, where we expected ſafety and deliverance. As to my partner, he was raging, and declared, that to loſe his goods would be his ruin, and that he would

would rather die than be ſtarved; and he was for fighting to the laſt drop.

The young Lord, a gallant youth, was for fighting to the laſt alſo; and my old pilot was of the opinion we were able to reſiſt them all, in the ſituation we were then in: and thus we ſpent the day in debates of what we ſhould do; but towards evening, we found that the number of our enemies ſtill encreaſed, and we did not know, but by the morning they might ſtill be a greater number: ſo I began to enquire of thoſe people we had brought from Tobolſki, if there were no other or more private ways, by which we might avoid them in the night; and perhaps, retreat to ſome town, or get help to guard us over the deſart.

The Siberian, who was ſervant to the young Lord, told us, if we deſigned to avoid them, and not fight, he would engage to carry us off in the night, to a way that went north, towards the river Petrou; by which, he made no queſtion but we might get away, and the Tartars never the wiſer: but he ſaid, his Lord had told him he would not retreat, but would rather chuſe to fight. I told him, he miſtook his Lord; for that he was too wiſe a man, to love fighting for the ſake of it; that I knew his Lord was brave enough, by what he had ſhewed already; but that his Lord knew better, than to deſire ſeventeen or eighteen men to fight five hundred, unleſs an unavoidable neceſſity forced them to it; and that, if he thought it poſſible for us to eſcape in the night, we had nothing elſe to do but to attempt it. He anſwered, if his Lordſhip gave him ſuch orders, he would loſe his life if he did not perform it: we ſoon brought his Lord to give that order, though privately,

vately, and we immediately prepared for the putting it in practice.

And firſt, as ſoon as it began to be dark, we kindled a fire in our little camp, which we kept burning, and prepared ſo as to make it burn all night, that the Tartars might conclude we were ſtill there; but as ſoon as it was dark, and we could ſee the ſtars (for our guide would not ſtir before) having all our horſes and camels ready loaden, we followed our new guide, who I ſoon found ſteered himſelf by the north ſtar, all the country being level for a long way.

After we had travelled two hours very hard, it began to be lighter ſtill, not that it was quite dark all night; but the moon began to riſe, ſo that in ſhort, it was rather lighter than we wiſhed it to be; but, by ſix o'clock, the next morning, we were gotten above thirty miles, having almoſt ſpoiled our horſes. Here we found a Ruſſian village, named Kermazinſkoy, where we reſted, and heard nothing of the Kalmuck Tartars that day. About two hours before night we ſet out again, and travelled till eight the next morning, though not quite ſo hard as before; and, about ſeven o'clock, we paſſed a little river, called Kirtza, and came to a good large town, inhabited by Ruſſians, called Ozomoys; there we heard that ſeveral troops or hords of Kalmucks had been abroad upon the deſart, but that we were now completely out of danger of them, which was to our great ſatisfaction. Here we were obliged to get ſome freſh horſes; and, having need enough of reſt, we ſtayed five days; and my partner and I agreed to give the honeſt Siberian who brought us thither, the value of ten piſtoles for conducting us.

In five days more we came to Veuſlima, upon the river Wirtzogda, and running into the Dwina; we were there, very happily, near the end of our travels by land, that river being navigable, in ſeven days paſſage, to Archangel. From hence we came to Lawrenſkoy, the third of July; and, providing ourſelves with two luggage-boats, and a barge for our own convenience, we embarked the ſeventh, and arrived all ſafe at Archangel the eighteenth; having been a year five months and three days on the journey, including our ſtay of eight months and odd days at Tobolſki. We ſtayed at this place ſix weeks, for the arrival of the ſhips; and muſt have tarried longer, had not a Hamburgher come in above a month ſooner than uſual.

We then ſet ſail from Archangel the 20th of Auguſt, the ſame year; and, after no extraordinary bad voyage, arrived ſafe in the Elbe, the 13th of September. Here my partner and I found a very good ſale for our goods, as well thoſe of China, as the ſables, &c. of Siberia; and, dividing the produce of our effects, my ſhare amounted to 3475l. 17s. 3d. notwithſtanding ſo many loſſes we had ſuſtained, and charges we had been at; only remembering, that I had included in this about ſix hundred pounds worth of diamonds, which I had purchaſed at Bengal

Here the young lord took his leave of us, and went up the Elbe, in order to go to the court of Vienna, where he reſolved to ſeek protection, and could correſpond with thoſe of his father's friends who were left alive. He did not part, without all the teſtimonies he could give me of gratitude, for the ſervice I had done him, and the ſenſe of my kindneſs to the prince his father.

To conclude, having ſtayed near four months in Hamburgh, I came from thence, over-land, to the Hague, where I embarked in the pacquet, and arrived in London the tenth of January, 1705; having been abſent from England ten years and nine months,

And here, intending to haraſs myſelf no more, I reſolved to prepare for a longer journey than all theſe, having lived ſeventy-two years a life of infinite variety, and learned ſufficiently to know the value of retirement, and the bleſſing of ending our days in peace.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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